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DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

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Complex Words of the Type ‘Absobloominlutely’

Komplexní slova typu ‘absobloominlutely’

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Poděkování

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Prohlášení o autorství

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Abstract

The MA thesis examines the word-formation potential of expletive insertion with simple and complex words in English. It represents a linguistic phenomenon that is commonly used by native speakers, shows a certain degree of regularity and has gained popularity with the rise of the Internet, social media and the movie industry. The theoretical part introduces the previous studies on the phenomenon and presents the basic features of the phenomenon, namely the categorization of inserts and the classification of their positions in terms of the structure of the base as outlined by McMillan (1980). The extraction of the sample is described in the methodology section. The empirical part examines the phenomenon's main principles of use governed by prosody and morphology and illustrates the properties and both regularities and irregularities that the process exhibits (predictable insert position, poly-syllabicity of the base, its unchanged meaning and syntactic category, alternative categories of input bases and morphematic discontinuity of bases). The analysis comprises of two main parts: the study of the inserted bases (word-class, type of base, simple vs. complex, and a number of syllables) and the study of the expletive insert (representation of individual inserts and their position relative to stress position in the base and its structure). The analysis revealed that even though expletive insertion violates the morphological criterion of uninterruptibility of the word, it occurs in a wide range of bases both from semantic and morphological points of view.

Keywords: expletive insertion, infixation, insert-base features, insert positioning rules, prosodic and morphological motivation, Expressive Morphology

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce prozkoumává slootovorný potenciál vkládání expletivních insertů u simplexních a komplexních slov v angličtině. Jedná se o jev, který běžně používají rodilí mluvčí, a který se vyznačuje jistou pravidelností. V současnosti navíc nabyl na oblibě v důsledku rozmachu internetu, sociálních sítí a filmového průmyslu. Teoretická část nejprve představuje předchozí studie a popisuje základní rysy tohoto jevu, konkrétně popisuje kategorizaci insertů a klasifikaci jejich pozic v rámci struktury báze (McMillan, 1980). Metodologická část popisuje sestavování vzorku. Empirická část práce analyzuje hlavní principy užívání tohoto jevu, které jsou podřízeny prosodii a morfologii. Dále pak ilustruje vlastnosti, včetně pravidelností a nepravidelností, kterými se vkládání expletiv vyznačuje (předvídatelná pozice insertu, víceslabičnost báze, neměnnost významu a syntaktické kategorie báze, alternativní kategorie vstupníchází a morfematičká přerušenosťází). Analýza sestává ze dvou hlavních částí: rozboruází ve vzorku (slovní druh, typ báze, jednoduchá vs. komplexní, počet slabik) a rozboru expletivních insertů (zastoupení jednotlivých insertů a jejich umístění vzhledem k pozici přízvuku v bázi a její struktuře). Analýza ukázala, že i přesto, že expletivní inserce porušuje morfologické kritérium nepřerušitelnosti slova, vyskytuje se u široké škályází, bohaté jak ze sémantického, tak z morfologického hlediska.

Klíčová slova: expletivní inserce, infixace, vlastnosti insertu-báze, pravidla umístování insertu, prosodická a morfologická motivace, expresivní morfologie

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List of Abbreviations

BNC	British National Corpus
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
IMSDB	Internet Movie Script database
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
syll	syllable
p.	page
vs.	versus

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1. Introduction

The thesis deals with the rare and curious phenomenon which nowadays tends to be called “expletive insertion” (see Bauer, 2015: 122) and which appears to contravene the principle of uninterruptibility of the word. Consider the following line from the script of Guy Ritchie's movie *Snatch* (1999):

“OK is very close to KO, and KO is very close to R. I. fucking. P. You know what RIP stands for Tyrone?”

The movie fans might remember that although Tyrone knew what the initialism meant, he, first of all, failed to recognize the rhetorical question and thus misinterpreted the whole situation. Our focus is, however, diverted from the movie and directed towards a linguistic phenomenon present in the first sentence of the script line. What is going on inside the initialism *R.I. fucking. P.* has been termed differently by different authors, for instance, it is referred to by Mattiello (2013: 186) as “Infixation [involving] insertion of an affix in the middle of a simplex word (*ah-iz-head*) [...] a complex word (*un-fucking-touchable*) or lexicalized phrase (Jehovah bloody Witnesses)”. While the phenomenon is not commonly used in English (Yule, 2010: 58) it is becoming more and more popular, which sparked off discussion on its role within English Grammar (Bauer, 2015). The thesis sets out to achieve two main goals: first, to explore the phenomenon's theoretical status, its regularities, and irregularities and to present its definitions across the topic's available secondary literature. Second, with the use of the gathered theoretical data, the overarching aim of this thesis is then to describe the word forming potential of this specific device: i.e. to analyze different aspects of expletive insertion and the nature of both the base and the insert on the basis of a sample of more than 200 genuine examples of inserted formations.

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Studies on expletive insertion over the last four decades

Pioneering studies on expletive insertion can be traced back as far as the 1970s. Moravcsik (1977) addressed the basic challenges of expletive insertion in her monograph “On Rules of Infixing”. Yu (2007: 3) asserts that although the solutions she provided reflect the theoretical mode of the period, she, however, succeeded in bringing up questions that are of relevance until today.

Moravcsik's monograph was shortly after followed by McMillan (1980), who in his article “Infixing and Interposing in English” drew a clear distinction between expletive insertion and syntactic interposing (*high bloody time*). Furthermore, within the scope of expletive insertion, he defined the position of the insert with respect to the structure of the base, categorized three different types of inserts and commented on insert's placement rules in relation to word stress and syllabic structure.

McCarthy (1982) elaborated on the study of expletive insertion in terms of prosody. In his article, he acknowledged and described the influence of supra-segmental units like syllables and feet. He asserted that in terms of expletive insertion, the metrical structure of words is superior to the syllabic structure and overall plays a crucial role in the placement of the insert. Regularities in the prosodic terms have been followed and further developed by Hammond (1999) and Plag (2003).

The turn of the century brought a comprehensive publication on infixation *The Natural History of Infixation* by Alan Yu (2007), where his focus is aimed at history, theory and typology of infixation (its rules, typologies etc.) within a variety of languages, devoting a large amount of space to its behaviour in English. Yu's work has been recently followed by Matiello's (2013) publication in which she offers an extensive outline of the available literature on the topic and presents a critical view of its place within English morphology. Similarly, Iréne Hegedüs (2013) offers a constructive view on the classification of the phenomenon within the language system. She disapproves of the term expletive infixation and suggests abandoning it entirely (to avoid

lexical misinterpretation with true derivational infixation, which is absent in English but present in other languages). She offers a theory-neutral term: **expletive insertion**.

Mattiello (2013), in her publication, defines expletive insertion as follows: “Expletive [insertion] (also called *fuckin*-infixation, from the most common infix used) concerns the insertion of expressive (often vulgar or obscene) expletives into words” (Mattiello, 2013: 188). In order to get better acquainted with the phenomenon, we may consider a line in the script of the 1999 movie *The Boondock Saints*, with Mattiello's definition on mind: “Who the fuck are they?! I've never seen any-fucking-thing like this in my whole fucking life.”

Let us analyze what is going on in the utterance. The first thing to strike the reader is the sense of confusion and surprise (perhaps also anger) in the overall tone of the utterance. Arguably, what the speaker feels is the need to express his immediate feeling. Besides employing other means, he does so by using the expletive *fuck(ing)* twice. He uses it once as a free-standing intensifier (*who the fuck*) and the second time as an expletive insert inside a compound word, in this case, an indefinite pronoun. The speaker splits the compound at the base boundary. By doing so he achieves an emotive intensification, while the part of speech remains unchanged. The resultant expletively-inserted base remains intelligible for the speaker/listener. The common consensus is that no special word-formation process is going on, merely the speaker's attitude is expressed, or as McMillan (1980) says: “Because the insert is typically an expletory intensifier, its function is that of an emotive stress amplifier” (McMillan, 1980: 165)

Even more recent is a short paper by Laurie Bauer, *Expletive Insertion* (2015), in which the author offers a brief summary of the literature on the phenomenon so far and submits the results of his Google search. Like Hegedüs, he notes that “[t]his process is widely called infixation in the literature, but the term is misleading. Affixes, including infixes, are typically defined as being bound morphs, which these expletives clearly are not, so that calling the process expletive insertion seems preferable” (Bauer, 2015: 122). Using Google data and data from nonwritten sources he examines the validity of claims made in the literature about the preference of either morphologically or phonologically motivated insertion points in these inserted forms and concludes that “despite previous analyses insisting on the prosodic basis of expletive insertion, it seems that when there is a clash between potential morphological and prosodic insertion points for expletives, the morphological ones are preferred, though not always greatly”

(Bauer, 2015: 126). He returns to this type of formation in his latest 2017 monograph (see below).

To summarize, until today, expletive insertion represents a much-discussed topic in linguistic terms. While pioneering studies focused on the phenomenon's definition and description of its rules, recent studies discuss its grammatical status and proper delimitation and classification. It is generally agreed that the process is strongly dependent on supra-segmental features (syllabic and metrical structure) and its function is that of the emotive amplifier (although some authors mention its additional meaning). With its increasing usage, the phenomenon does not seem to follow a definite and fast set of rules. There arguably exists a great deal of variation in its use in the spoken language, therefore the subject is open to further discussion and should be studied more extensively.

2.2. Aspects of expletive insertion and the terminological variety

2.2.1. Expletive insertion: exemplification

In her proposition that the term expletive infixation should be completely abandoned, Hegedüs (2013: 164) provides three clear and short arguments for distinguishing between expletive insertion and true infixation:

Expletive insertion	True infixation
1) Inserting a <u>free morpheme</u> (fucking) inside a free morpheme (absolutely).	1) Inserting a <u>bound morpheme</u> inside free morpheme.
2) Expletive insertion serves merely a <u>stylistic purpose</u> .	2) True infixation serves a <u>morphological purpose</u> .
3) Causes a <u>register downstep</u> .	3) <u>Does not</u> cause a <u>register downstep</u> .

Table 1: The main arguments for distinguishing between expletive insertion and true infixation (Hegedüs, 2013)

There however exists a similarity (a trait) to true infixation that was not considered by Hegedüs but was highlighted by Yu (2007). His argument for operationally calling an affix an infix (thus allowing us to speak of an infixing process) goes like this: if “it appears as a segmentally distinct entity between two strings that form a meaningful unit when combined but do not themselves

exist as meaningful parts” (Yu, 2007: 11). Strictly speaking (according to Yu), *-fucking-* represents an infix since in formations like *irrefucking-sponsible*, the two split parts of the base become meaningful, only and if, they are combined (= they are not meaningful when they stand apart). Yu's rule and definition, however, does not seem to apply for what McMillan (1980: 163) calls “genuine tmesis” when compounds are split by the insert. Consider *any-bloody-thing*, where both parts, even when split, remain meaningful (genuine tmesis is described below in McMillan's classification).

2.2.2. Prosodic restrictions

Let us now turn to the base and the inserts themselves. It is generally agreed that prosody plays a crucial role in terms in the predictability of the insert's position. The crucial factors are stress (both primary and secondary) and syllable boundary, which is subordinate to feet boundary. There is a tendency of the insert to appear directly before the primarily stressed syllable (mentioned, e.g., in McCarthy, 1982; McMillan, 1980; and Bauer, 1983). Furthermore, Plag (2003: 102) and McCarthy (1982: 578) assert that the insert must be always placed between two feet, while a foot can never be disrupted by the expletive insert (**Ameri-fucking-ca*). It means that words which can undergo expletive insertion must consist of at least two syllables and two feet. However, in his most recent observations on expletive insertion, Bauer (2015, 2017) modifies the claims on prosodic restrictions and says that “[i]t is also the case that where the insertion point can come between a prefix and the base, despite not fitting the stress criterion, the morphologically defined insertion point is preferred, as in *un-fucking-believable* and *over-fucking-excited*” (Bauer 2017: 17). He also remarks on the morphological implications of this process: “In all these cases, there is another possible form in which the expletive precedes the relevant word: *fucking absolutely*, *bloody kangaroo* and so on. So expletive insertion looks like a morphological rule that reorders a word from elsewhere in the sentence into the middle of the word and breaks the uninterruptibility criterion. This kind of exception is not widely reported from other languages, but the fact that it exists at all is worrying for this criterion” (Bauer, 2017: pp. 17-18).

2.2.3. Categorization of inserts

Inserts as such have been examined and categorized by McMillan (1980: 164), who distinguishes three types of inserts, depending on the degree of explicitness that the speaker desires to express:

- a) Expletives (*fucking, bloody, damn, goddamn, mother-fucking*, etc.)
- b) Euphemisms (*bleeding, blessed, blooming, fugging*, etc.)
- c) Neutral terms (*absolutely, flipping, awfully, flaming*, etc.).

In terms of input categories, Mattiello (2013: 188) claims that expletive insertion “is most permissive” (as opposed to infixes such as *-diddly-/iz-/ma-*, e.g. *ac-diddly-action*). As for bases, it allows for: **(1)** nouns (*atmofuckingsphere*) **(2)** pronouns (*any-bloody-thing*) **(3)** adjectives (*wonder-fucking-ful*) **(4)** verbs (*dis-damn-membered*) **(5)** adverbs (*abso-blessed-lutely*) **(6)** interjections (*boom-bloody-boom*) and **(7)** personal and place names (*Gali-fucking-leo, Su-fuckin’-matra*). What can be observed is that the potential of expletive insertion is wide-ranging, with most word-classes involved. The three parts of speech in which the inserts are not typically found are determiners, conjunctions, and preposition. There are, however, occasional exceptions, such as *not a-fucking-nother one, al-fucking-though, in-fucking-side the word itself*, which suggests that the main obstacle is the length of the word, not the word-class itself.

2.2.4. Occurrence of inserts in terms of word-structure

Interestingly, in terms of English word-structure, the occurrence of the phenomenon seems to be limited to five options. McMillan (1980: 163) lists the following positions of the expletive insert (symbolized by X):

- 1) Inside morphemes (*e-X-nough, amalga-X-mated*);
- 2) Between base and affix or combining form (*dis-X-member, megalo-X-maniac*);
- 3) Between compound bases, genuine tmesis¹ (*any-X-thing, no-X-where*);
- 4) Inside letter and numeral words (*D-K-X-N-Y, 19-X-70*);
- 5) Inside [proper] names (p. 163) (*Cinder-X-rella, Katman-X-du*).

¹ See chapter 2.2.6.1 where tmesis is addressed

In morphological terms, in groups **2** and **3**, expletive insertion tends to occur at the morphological boundary (i.e. between affixes and bases; between base and base) rather than disrupting the morpheme structure. Mattiello (2013: 189), however, mentions examples documented by McCarthy (1982) where “the expletive does not fall on the prefix juncture,” (McCarthy 1982: 585) as in *imma-bloody-material*, *irrefucking-sponsible*, *inde-goddamn-pendent*. In these cases, the expletive insertion does disrupt the morpheme as in group **1**. McCarthy (1982: 585) mentions cases where there is an exception/violation of the rule: the expletive is inserted before unstressed syllable. Consider the following examples:

- A. *Un-fucking-believable* (unbe'lievable)
- B. *Un-fucking-derivable* (unde'rivable)

In cases A and B, the rule of inserting insert before stressed syllable is violated. The infix is inserted before unstressed syllable. McCarthy (1982) does not provide explanation for the phenomenon at place, commenting that “this apparent suspension of one of the prosodic conditions cannot simply be attributed to the presence of a juncture of some type after the prefix *un-*, although such effects are not unknown (cf. McCawley)” (McCarthy 1982: 585). He, however, identifies that unlike prefix *un-*, there exist prefixes that “does not permit same freedom” (p. 585), where he talks about prefixes *ir-*, *im-*, *in-*. Consider the following examples:

- C. **ir-fucking-responsible* (irre'sponsible)
- D. **im-bloody-material* (imma'terial)

According to McCarthy (1982: 585) instances, C and D appear to be ill-formed and instances, where the insert falls directly before stressed syllable (*irre-fuckigsponsible*, *imma-bloody-material*) appear to be more natural.

The situation with the base and suffix boundary seems to be less complicated. Mattiello (2013) claims that “expletive does not normally occur at the suffix juncture” (p. 189), as in *emancipator* → *emanci-fucking-pator*. She attributes this yet again to the fact that the position of the insert is, “indeed, not morphologically but prosodically determined” (p. 189). Basically what she refers to is the fact that English suffixes are generally unstressed.

2.2.5. Infixing processes in English

Although more and more authors believe that expletive insertion is different from infixation, it does not mean that infixation is completely absent in English. For instance, Yu (2007: 184) and Mattiello (2013, pp. 189-191) speak about three different types of infixation in English, which have been studied and described only recently. In all three cases, they are connected to colloquial language, two of them are associated with a TV series character's speech and the third one is connected with hip-hop and rap culture.

Homeric² or *-ma-* infixation has been described by Yu (2007), who defines the phenomenon as “the insertion of *-ma-* after a trochaic foot” (Yu, 2007: 184). Yu was able to gather examples (World Wide Web) from daily conversation: *vio-ma-lin*, *edu-ma-cate*. He calls it a “rare specimen of what [he refers to] as true infixation” (p. 184) for the following reasons: **(1)** morpheme *-ma-* “may never appear at a periphery; it must appear internal to a morphological host” (p. 184) (*obo-ma-boe* vs. **oboe-ma*); **(2)** it is considered to be a bound morpheme. Mattiello (2013: 189) adds that it can appear in various base categories (nouns, adjectives, verbs, participles, and names). Yu (2007) argues that *ma*-infixation has emerged as “an accidental convergence among the different filler-word constructions in English” (Yu, 2007: 185). Arguably what he refers to are vague, nonsense words English provides to fill in the gap when one has a hard time recalling something.

Mattiello (2013:190) mentions Elfnér and Kimper (2008) on *-diddly-* infixation (also popularized by The Simpsons). It is a type of infix that introduces nonsense element *-diddly-* into bases that have stress on initial syllable, which in result “always involves reduplication of the rhyme of the stressed syllable” (Mattiello 2013: 190). As a result of this the “infix *-diddly-* then precedes main stress, *ac-diddly-'action*, *he-diddly-'eaven*” (p. 190). *-Diddly-* infixation then differs from expletive insertion in three major ways: **(1)** the infix *diddly* “cannot appear as an independent word” (cf. *fucking*) **(2)** as opposed to expletive insertion, it does not favour non-initially stressed bases (cf. *fan-fucking-tastic*) **(3)** it “involves reduplication”.

² Popularized by the animated TV show The Simpsons (1989-present) and referring one of the characters, Homer Simpson.

The last type of infixation *-iz- infixation* (see Viau 2002) has been popularized by rap/hip-hop music artists (Snoop Dogg). It involves insertion of an *-iz-* infix before stressed syllables (as in *ah-iz-head*, *b-iz-itch*, *beh-iz-ave*).

To conclude, the three special cases of infixation differ from expletive insertion in the fact that the infixes involved are either bound or meaningless. Their use involves frequent reduplication of parts (syllable or parts of the syllable) of the base and this type infixation is limited to single infixes. One trait they share with expletive insertion is that they do not create new words (but rather create a stylistic, colloquial effect). Another feature they may have in common is the frequent meaninglessness of the base parts split by the insert/affix, which become meaningful only when they are combined together (cf. *bea-damn-utiful* and *beh-iz-ave* or *he-diddly-eaven*).

2.2.6. Terminological alternatives

The terminological confusion does not end with derivational morphology. The following sections will briefly summarize alternative terms that have been offered in the literature to describe expletive insertion. Several authors suggested that expletive insertion could be considered a special type of compounding or (embedded) blending. In the literature on literary theory, readers will come across another term – *tnesis* – that refers to cases when one word (or a phrase) is inserted into another.

2.2.6.1. Tmesis

According to Hegedüs (2013: 164), *tnesis* is sometimes used as a synonym to expletive insertion which according to her is an erroneous comparison. Consider the definition from Oxford Dictionaries: “The separation of parts of a compound word by an intervening word or words, used mainly in informal speech for emphasis (e.g. can't find it any-blooming-where)”³. Collins online dictionary definition goes: “separation of the parts of a compound word by an

³“tnesis” Oxford English Dictionaries, OUP, <<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/tnesis>> (accessed: 12 Dec 2018)

intervening word or words (Ex.: *what person soever* for *whatsoever person*)”⁴. Both dictionaries comment on its origin from the 16th century, from the Greek *tmēsis* “cutting”.

We can observe that both dictionaries restrict *tmēsis* to compounds, and do not limit the insert to a single morpheme. Mattiello (2013: 188) observes the following differences:

- 1) Expletive insertion “admits a wider range of bases” (p. 188). It is not restricted to complex words, can also occur in simplex ones, as in *e-bloody-nough*, *kangabloodyroo*, *Gali-fucking-leo*.
- 2) Expletive insertion is limited to certain types and number of inserts (euphemisms, expletives, neutral terms), while *tmēsis* is used more broadly (cf. McMillan's examples: *chit and chat*, *what might be soever*, which he terms as cases of syntactic interposing)

To conclude, in addition to the two differences, it appears that the nowadays obsolete term *tmēsis* does not cover the inventiveness of expletive insertion.

2.2.6.2. Expletive insertion as compounding

According to Quirk et al. (1985), a compound is “a lexical unit consisting of more than one base and functioning both grammatically and semantically as a single word” (Quirk et al., 1985: 1567). They further suggest that in principle it is possible to combine any number of bases (in English compounds usually contain two bases only). Although neologisms with inserted expletives technically involve two or more bases (including the expletive), to call expletive insertion compounding is a rarely considered option. It seems that it would be less problematic with compounds expletively split at the base boundary since the parts (bases) of the compound word remain intelligible even when split (consider *any-bloody-body*, which would then consist of three bases). A difficulty arises with cases when a non-compound word is split by the expletive and the base becomes discontinuous and so unintelligible. Consider *kanga-bloody-roo*, where the base *kangaroo* is split and discontinued by the base *bloody*, leaving us with unintelligible base parts “kanga” and “roo”. McMillan (1980) advocates the impossibility to refer to the phenomenon as compounding and asserts that “it might be called a compound, but this

⁴ “*tmēsis*” *Collins dictionary*, Collins, <<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/tmesis>> (accessed: 12 Dec 2018)

description would recognize discontinuous elements of compounds and would complicate the stress rule for compounding.” (McMillan, 1980: 166) He clearly finds the compound interpretation of expletive insertion theoretically inconvenient and ends his discussion by saying that compounding is clearly not the process involved.

2.2.6.3. Expletive insertion as embedded blending

According to Mattiello (2013: 111), a blend is a single new word created by merging two existing words, of which at least one is clipped. The concept of a blend, where one element is inserted into another, is again only rarely mentioned in the literature (and even less so in the literature on expletive insertion). Mattiello (2013) refers this type of blend as “intercalative blend” (Mattiello, 2013: 130) (intercalative meaning “insertive”) and illustrates it by *ubookquitous* (referring to a widely publicized book), in which the word *book* is inserted into the base element *ubiquitous* from which ‘i’ or possibly ‘bi’ was deleted to create a clever language effect (Shaw et al., 2014: 3). Another example is *entreporneur* combining the words *porn* and (shortened) *entrepreneur*. Most authors, though, tend to restrict the term blend to serial combinations, thus e.g. Yule (2010: 55) asserts that (prototypical) blending is carried out by taking only the beginning of one word and joining it to the end of another word (*smoke* + *fog* = *smog*), while Lehrer (2007) claims that “[t]he commonest type of blend in my corpus is a full word followed by a splinter” (Lehrer, 2007: 117).

To conclude, the concept of both intercalative blends and expletive inserts allows for discontinuous bases (cf. *ability* + *skill* → *askility* vs. *e-bloody-nough*), which according to Mattiello (2013: 130) is considered to be against the rules of word-formation (in fact, against the morphological criterion of the uninterruptibility of the word). Another common trait is a kind of witty wordplay involved in this phenomenon. Quirk et al. (1985: 1584) describe expletive insertion as “a kind of blending that produces [...] the very informal and usually scatological ‘tmesis’ or use of infixes”. Nonetheless, intercalative blends frequently involve clipping of one of the constituent words, while clipping of bases within expletive insertion has been observed in a single case (*positively* → *posi*).

2.3. Grammatical status of expletive insertion

In the following section, several perspectives from which expletive insertion is viewed in English are discussed. There exists a scale of inclusion of expletive insertion within English grammar. While some linguists exclude expletive insertion from grammar completely (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi, 1994), others include the phenomenon within expressive morphology (Zwicky and Pullum's own term, 1987) and place it next to language games such as riddling and punning. Some (Plag, 2003; Siegel, 1974; Aronoff, 1976) are inclined to include expletive insertion within English morphology, due to its structural regularity and the fact that a new meaning is reflecting the speaker's attitude.

2.3.1. Expletive insertion in terms of Plain and Expressive morphology

Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994: 41) hold that expletive insertion does not produce new words or inflectional word forms, and therefore should not be considered part of morphological grammar. Zwicky and Pullum (1987: 1) take a different stand and assert that “not every regularity in the use of language is a matter of grammar” and while “many [uses of language] incorporate or build upon aspects of grammatical organization (including phonology, morphology, syntax, and semantics)” (p. 1), yet they “can be considered grammatical rules only by stretching the concept of grammatical rule beyond all recognition” (p. 1). What they say in effect is that unlike rule-based derivational affixation (pre- and suffixation), expletive insertion is a different kind of process in English less obviously morphological and less regular. They include expletive insertion within the frame of Expressive Morphology (their very own term). This branch of morphology comprises what the authors call “special formations” (p. 6); as an illustration of some other processes included, they include language games (riddling, punning) and ideophone systems (onomatopoeic sounds). When compared to plain morphology in its ordinary domain, expressive morphology can be described as “a kind of derivational morphology that has [...] special characteristics. Expletive insertion, in particular, is defined by Zwicky and Pullum (p. 7) with the following characteristics:

1. Rules of expletive insertion apply to a variety of word classes (as is demonstrated in the analytical part) and produce items that belong to the same word class (and never other).

Proper name *Nostradamus* remains a proper name as in *Nostra-fucking-damus* and the noun *megalomaniac* remains a noun as in *megalo-bloodymaniac* and so on.

2. Rules of plain derivational morphology apply strictly to bases and never to forms that are inflected. Rules of expressive morphology (expletive insertion included) can apply both to inflected word forms (*dis-damn-membered*) and bases.
3. There exists an imperfect control (Zwicky and Pullum, 1987: 8) over the formation. Strictly speaking, there is a presumption that there exist speakers who create such formation without any major obstacles and then there are those who have little to no productive control of it. Expletive insertion was put to test by McCawley (1978), who focused precisely on students' ability to efficiently produce expletive insertion and he was able to empirically verify that students' ability varies to a great degree.
4. There are alternative outputs (Zwicky and Pullum, 1987: 8), which entails, that English speakers can produce different forms from the same source after applying the same rule (*infuckingconspicuous* vs. *inconfuckingspicious*).
5. There is a certain degree of inter-speaker variation (p. 8), where speakers do not concur in which bases admit expletive insertion and which do not. Similarly, McCawley (1978) asked English speakers to judge two variants of insertion of expletive *fuckin* into the base *discovery*. There was a split between speakers' opinions, some judge the form *dis-fuckin-discovery* as natural, whereas others report a degree of awkwardness about it. A similar degree of bipolarity applies for other variant *dis-fuckin-scovary* (McCawley, 1978; see also Bauer, 2015).

It seems that expletive insertion indeed shares with other types of expressive morphology as defined by Zwicky and Pullum a certain amount of indeterminateness. It is prone to vacillation in the placement of the expletive, variation in output, different degrees of ability to produce these neologisms by speakers. Speakers may even disagree on which expletively inserted bases sound natural and which do not.

2.3.2. Expletive insertion in terms of Prosodic Morphology

In view of the relatively high vacillation and irregularity as described by Zwicky and Pullum, Plag (2003: 127) looks for uniformity elsewhere. He recognizes that expletive insertion shows complete regularity in terms of phonology. He asserts that an expletive insert is always

inserted in the same prosodic position. Plag (2003: 128) employs Hammond's study (1999, 161-164), where Hammond recognized regularity in the manner of placing the insert. They agree that there has to be a stressed syllable both to the left and to the right of the expletive. This makes words like *fròn-EXPLETIVE-tier* valid candidates and words like *tí-EXPLETIVE-ger*⁵ invalid candidates. Since expletive insertion goes beyond syllabic structure, Plag (2003: 128) explores the phenomenon's behavior from the point of view of the metrical structure. In term of metrical structure, every English word can be assigned a number of feet, where the foot “is a metrical unit consisting of either one stressed syllable, or one stressed syllable and one or more unstressed syllables” (p. 128). From the premise that foot always contains a stressed syllable (and the stressed syllable is usually in the heading of the foot) follows a generalization (a rule) that the expletive must be always inserted between two feet and it is not allowed for the feet to be interrupted. Now if we compare the following three-syllable words *bàndánna* x *banána*, the first one is comprised of two feet, the latter of one foot only. Plag (2003: 128) claims that the first word allows expletive insertion at one and only position – the feet boundary (*bàn-EXPL-dánna*), while the latter example does not allow expletive insertion at all (**ba-EXPL-nána*) since the first syllable *ba* is unstressed and does not constitute a foot. It follows that words that have three or more feet, allow expletive insertion at two or more positions (*mis-EXPL-understanding* vs. *misunder-EXPL-standing*). He concludes that expletive insertion is decided by the metrical structure of the base and he considers it to be part of so-called **prosodic morphology**, strictly speaking: “kind of morphology where prosodic units and prosodic restrictions are chiefly responsible for the shape of complex words” (Plag, 2003: 129). He furthermore takes into question Dressler/Merlini Barbaresi's assertion (1994: 41) that expletive insertion does not produce outputs that could be classified as distinct words or inflectional word forms, which they use as the basis for excluding it from English word-formation. Plag (2003: 129) objects that while it is true that the core meaning of the base word stays unaffected, a new/additional meaning can be seen in the speaker's attitude that is reflected by the expletive. Following this premise, he compares expletive insertion to diminutives (*doggy*) and augmentatives (*super-cool*) that are cases of word-formation and are part of the English lexicon. Nevertheless, Plag (2003) admits that there are often cases, where big dogs are called *doggies* by their owners. Such usage “shows that diminutives do not generally add the meaning ‘small’ but often merely express speaker's

⁵ Right pointing acute = primary stress, left pointing acute = secondary stress.

emotional attitude” (Plag, 2003: 130). This particular usage of diminutives, however, again supports Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi's standpoint that such cases do not involve word formation.

Plag (2003: 127-131) ultimately assumes expletive insertion to be a “structurally completely regular process” and therefore he considers it a process that should be “part of the speaker's linguistic competence.” The position of the insert is chiefly determined by prosody (prosodic morphology) which entitles expletive insertion to be categorized next to other morphological categories expressed by similar means (i.e. blends, truncations, -y diminutives).

McCarthy (1982: 575) puts emphasis on metrical structure as well. In his article, he opposes Siegel (1974) and Aronoff (1976: 70), who consider expletive insertion “completely general and regular phenomenon”. Siegel and Aronoff posit a placement rule that the “[insert] must immediately precede the primary stress and must be preceded somewhere in the word by tertiary stress” (p. 70). McCarthy (1982: 575) comments on their rule in three crucial points. First, he concurs with them in correctly excluding those cases where the insert is immediately followed by an unstressed syllable (**fanta-fucking-stic*). Second, he diverges from them on the necessity of a primarily stressed syllable directly following the insert, as a matter of fact, “any degree of stress will do” (McCarthy, 1982: 576) on the subsequent syllable (cf. *'handi-bloody-cap*, *'every-bloody-body*). Third, he thinks that the requirement of tertiary stress preceding the insert is false as well examples like *handi-bloody-cap* demonstrate that the stress on the syllable preceding the infix can be primary. Concerning the metrical structure of the word, McCarthy and Plag agree on the inability of one-foot words to undergo expletive insertion, the necessity of the insert to lodge only on an edge of a word and the fact that words consisting of three (and more feet) allow for two (or more) positions where the insert may come. McCarthy (1982: 589) concludes that “all observed properties of this robust phenomenon [...] can be derived from a theory of foot level metrical structure” and he asserts that “the result is that there is essentially no rule to expletive [insertion]” (p. 589). He therefore presumes a high degree of automaticity once the expletive insertion is learned (see also Mattiello, 2003: 198; McMillan 1980: 165, 167). Based on sample instances (after encountering model examples like *abdamnsurd* and gaining a grip on the formation) speakers may find the rest to be a matter of analogy and following the phonological rules of the English language.

Among the key problem areas surrounding the phenomenon are the lack of added meaning in the resultant formation and the fact that the inserted element is not bound. Arguably, the phenomenon should not be characterized as showing signs of complete regularity and generality (as presented by Siegel, 1974; Aronoff, 1976; Plag, 2003). However, the contrary view (held by Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi, 1994) which excludes it from morphology altogether represents a problematic standpoint as well. In actual fact, the problem arises for the authors when they attempt to explain the formation of new words mainly in terms of word-formation/derivational morphology as it excludes most processes other than serial affixation and compounding. A seemingly convenient solution to the classification of the phenomenon appears to be Zwicky and Pullum's inclusion of the phenomenon in Expressive Morphology which subsumes a range of other special types of forms that differ in many aspects from those categorized within plain morphology. Linguists generally concur that expletive insertion is principally governed by English prosody and syllabic/metrical structures, as was pointed out and comprehensively described by McCarthy (first draft 1977, published 1982) and in the following years acknowledged by many others (McMillan, 1980; Plag, 2003; Adams 2001; Mattiello 2008, 2013).

2.4. Expletive insertion in grammars and textbooks

In order to cover as wide a range of views and observations on expletive insertion in English as possible, the search included consultation of standard reference grammars and authoritative textbooks. However, mentions of expletive insertion in grammar books and textbooks tend to be rare and brief or in some cases even absent as in Huddleston and Pullum (2002) or in Valerie Adams (1973), although she does mention the use of infixes in chemical terminology (p. 208): “Infixes are used: *-id-* is inserted, for example, into cyanine, to produce the name of a related substance, cyanidine”. The brevity of the mentions referring to the phenomenon presumably has to do with the marginality of expletive insertion in the English grammatical system.

2.4.1. Quirk et al.: A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language

Quirk et al. (1985: 1584) comment on such formations in the note [c] following a paragraph on blends (Appendix I Word-formation):

It is a kind of blending that produces (especially in BrE) the very informal and usually scatological ‘tmesis’ or use of infixes in ,abso,bloody’lutely, ,stony,goddam’broke, ,al,ruddy’mighty. Semantically, these combine an already emotional hyperbole with an extreme intensifier, and as the indicated stressing shows, there is a common essential prosodic pattern such that the infixed intensifier comes immediately before the most emphasized syllable [...].

They stress the informal aspect of such formations and the fact that from a semantic point of view they combine emotional hyperbole with intensification. Furthermore, they add an observation on the placement of the expletive intensifier in these formations. The discrepancy in their description between calling them blends and speaking of infixes at the same time has already been pointed out above.

2.4.2. Yule: The Study of Language

Yule (2010: 58-59) in his widely used textbook touches very briefly on expressions with inserted expletives in a paragraph on infixes and views “these ‘inserted’ forms as a special version of infixing in English”. He also sees “the general principle at work” in them, meaning that these expressions have restricted application, being “occasionally used in fortuitous or aggravating circumstances by emotionally aroused English speakers”. Interestingly, he notes a case when even the expletive itself may “have an infixed element, as in *god**triple**dammmit!*”

2.4.3. Bauer: English Word-formation

Bauer (1983) deals with expletive insertion in connection with a restriction on its productivity, namely phonological suprasegmental restrictions. He describes the phenomenon as an unusual morphological process, because “it is the only case of productive infixation in English” (Bauer, 1983: 90) and second “because the infixes are potential word-forms and not bound forms, unlike most other English affixes” (p. 90). He also acknowledges the fact that the products of expletive insertion never become established, which is perhaps due to the phenomenon's high productivity.

His main area of focus concerns the prosodic patterns these formations display. Bauer agrees with Quirk et al. (1985) that in most cases the inserts occur immediately before the syllable of the base which bears the lexical stress. Paraphrasing McMillan (1980: 167), Bauer

maintains that words that bear stress on the first syllable and do not possess subsequent subsidiary stress (e.g., *criminal*, *solid*) are very unlikely candidates for the insertion of the expletive element. In Bauer's opinion (1983: 90) the stress of the lexeme plays a crucial role in deciding whether the base can undergo insertion or not. In addition to the inserts being limited by stress in their possible positions in the base, they are also restricted by the syllable pattern that is the number of syllables of which the base consists. According to Bauer (1983: 91), the most common cases in which the insert appears are words of three or more syllables (*ecofuckingnomics*, *confronfuckingtation*, etc.) and the minimal candidates are two-syllable words (*ur-fucking-bane*). In subsequent works, Bauer (2015, 2017 – see above; also Bauer et al. 2013) somewhat modifies his views on the subject.

2.3.4. Miller: English Lexicogenesis

A somewhat different perspective on these formations is taken by Miller (2014), who treats of the subject under the section 5.5 Language play (Miller, 2014: 90-93) and mentions several “infixation games” in English, for instance Homer Simpson’s type (mentioned above as Homeric infixation) in which “-*ma*- is inserted after a trochaic foot” (*edumacate*, *saxomaphone*, etc.). “The most productive infixation game”, he claims, “involves the expletive *fuckin’*, which must be inserted at a foot boundary, preferentially at the left edge of a trochaic foot [...], hence *fàn-fuckin’-tástic* but not **fàntást-fuckin’-ic*, **phý-fuckin’-sical* [physical]”. He mostly relies on McCarthy (1982) here. He also draws attention to Zonneveld’s (1984: 56) suggestion that expletive insertion is analogous to “middle name formation”, like *Johnny ‘Guitar’ Watson*, *Eric ‘Slowhand’ Clapton*, or *Ray ‘Boom-Boom’ Mancini*.

2.5. A summary: irregularities and regularities observed in the expletive insertion

Mattiello (2013: 192) summarizes and pinpoints individual irregularities and regularities that expletive insertion (together with infixation) exhibits. Irregularities represent the main difference between expletive insertion and regular word-formation processes (e.g. prefixation, suffixation). The latter generally do not exhibit any kind of irregularity. The following list of

expletive insertion irregularities contains many of the traits that have already been mentioned. Its purpose is to recapitulate and bring them together to close the theoretical part.

1. Unchanged meaning: expletive insertion “only obtains connoted variants” and there is merely “a stylistic difference” between the input and output word. She furthermore contends that inserts like *-bloody-* or *-damned-* “do not maintain their denotational lexical meanings in the insert position,” but they have merely “an extra pragmatic meaning,” similar to the remainder of inserts.
2. Unchanged syntactic category of the base: the input noun is still an output noun, the input verb remains an output verb, etc.
3. Alternative input categories”: more syntactic categories are permitted as bases (nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, interjections, proper names/places; and marginally even determiners, conjunctions, and prepositions).
4. Discontinuous bases: inserts disrupt bases (*e-fucking-nough*). She claims that “because of the preference for morphotactic transparency, discontinuous bases are dispreferred in Natural Morphology.”
5. Non-morphematic analysis: since the split base segments “do not have meaning in isolation” (they “acquire the meaning only when combined”), inserted forms cannot always be segmented into morphemes (cf. compound bases and derivational bases) (Mattiello, 2013: 193).

Regularities are found mainly and almost exclusively in prosodic terms (Plag, 2003; McCarthy, 1982; Yu 2007), where the foot-level metrical structure is superordinate to syllabic structure and the presence of stress (any degree of stress is viable) is required on a syllable following the insert. Mattiello (2013: 194) notes the following regularities:

1. Predictable insert position: word stress, a syllable boundary and a feet boundary appear to play a role in the position of the insert.
2. Base expansion: while *-ma-* infixation, *-iz-* infixation and *-diddly-* infixation involve base expansion regularly (*ac-diddly-action* by reduplication), expletive insertion “does not normally involve an expansion of the base word, although some words have an added syllable to make insertion possible [...] *umber-X-ella*”

3. Polysyllabic base: there exists a minimal form in which an insert can occur – “a disyllabic base”. Bases containing three and more syllables, however, seem to be preferred for expletive insertion to occur (Mattiello, 2013: 195-196).

Regularities and irregularities described above represent the key rules to be used for the analysis of the gathered sample. Moreover, the analysis shows yet another regularity, where the inserted bases tend to cluster into homogenous semantic groups.

3. Methodology

This chapter consists of four subchapters. The first one outlines the aims and goals of the thesis. The second subchapter presents the method of collecting potential words which could serve as expletive intensifiers inserted into the base. The following, third, subchapter presents the method of sample collection, which makes use of three principal sources: corpus-based extraction using a search query; extraction of authentic examples from secondary literature sources (one MA thesis and several monographs); web search for potential instances of expletive insertion by inserting an expletive into certain types of bases and verifying their existence (utilizing Google search bar engine). The fourth and final subchapter discusses and summarizes the characteristics of the resultant heterogeneous sample.

3.1. Aims and goals

The overarching aim of the thesis is to describe the word forming-potential of a specific device: expletive insertion. As has been mentioned above, expletive insertion as a word-formation process still represents, in linguistic terms, a rather unexplored field. Based on the sample, the analysis will focus on the following aspects of these formations:

1. The Base – the starting point will be the description of the formal typology and semantic domains of the bases in the sample:
 - A. Word-class distribution in the bases within the sample
 - B. The formal structure of the bases: simplex or complex (word formation processes producing the complex bases)
 - C. Semantic clustering of the sample bases into groups
 - D. Syllable structure of the bases (their length expressed by the number of syllables in the base)
2. The Insert – the aim is to identify the range of inserts, their distribution and combinatory tendencies (following McMillan's work).
 - A. The field of inserts (the list and description of individual inserts appearing in the sample)

- B. The distribution of semantic categories of inserts within the sample- a functional view of the sample inserts using McMillan's classification (1980:164): intensifying profane expletives, euphemism, neutral terms
- 3. The function and stress-related position of the inserted expletive:
 - A. The position of the insert relative to the word structure of the base
 - B. The position of the insert relative to stress placement within the base

3.2. Collection of potential inserts (expletives)

In order to explore the word-forming potential of expletive insertion, it is essential to collect a sufficiently large sample of these formations. One way of going about it is to delimit the set of words that can occur as inserts within the bases as these formations can be identified by means of these inserted expletives. As a primary source, McMillan's (1980: 164) listing of potential inserts was used. In his monograph, McMillan distinguishes between inserts that can be used for syntactic interposing (*United bloody Kingdom*) and the limited group of those that occur in expletive insertion. As has been previously discussed, expletive insertion permits a very restricted set of words or phrases as inserts. McMillan (1980: 164) tried and tested a set of twenty-two items that can occur in this function (not counting formal variants such as *fuckin* for *fucking*): *bloody, by God, by heaven, damn, for God's sake, fucking, goddamn, goddamned, mother-fucking, bally, bleeding, bleeping, blessed, blooming, fugging, jolly, absolutely, awfully, flaming, flipping, posi, one-hundred-per cent*. However, a specific insert seems to have not been sorted among other inserts in his delimitation of expletive insertion: *Pygmalion*, which he identified in *abso-Pygmalion-lutely* and in a syntactic interposing *kick the Pygmalion bucket*. Both examples come from a single source and they both arguably refer to the Shaw's play or Greek mythological figure. Strictly speaking, what we are dealing with here is the use of a proper name (hence always spelled with capital P) used as an insert. Rather unorthodox use of proper names as inserts is, however, not completely unique: cf. *Jesus H. McCarty Christ*, as in McMillan (1980: 175). Together with the last addition, McMillan's article yielded **23 potential inserts**.

When all the other sources on expletive insertion were sifted through, McMillan's list was found to cover all inserts that appeared in them. However, given that McMillan made his list

almost thirty years ago, the first step was to check McMillan's set of inserts for any possible omissions. For this purpose, Green's *The Slang Thesaurus* (1999, 57-58) and its entries for cursing and profanity were consulted. In fact, the whole set of attested expletive inserts mentioned in McMillan's monograph was found in Green's entries. Still, his list of twenty-three examples could be extended by eight items whose ability to serve as inserts was checked on the Web. These additions were: *effing* (a euphemism for *fucking*), *freaking*, *frigging*, *shitting*, *stinking*, *sodding*, *pigging*, *pissing*. Thus the first finding is that the list of inserts is actually longer by one third than McMillan believed and that it can in principle be extended providing a new suitable word appears.

The resulting set of thirty-one tried and tested expletive items were then subsequently used as seed words to query the BNC and COCA and the Web (using a Google search bar) when searching for potential inserted formations.

3.3. Compiling the sample of inserted formations

In order to gather enough examples, the method of sample collection was to use three different sources. The first source for examples of expletive insertion was corpora, the BNC and COCA. They were manually searched for all thirty-one potential expletive forms functioning as insets, using a search query. The second source of the formations (types of inserted words) was the secondary literature, articles, and monographs. The third and last source was Minna Nevalainen's (2015) MA pro gradu thesis, *Expletive Infixation in Movie Scripts from the 1980s to Present Day and the Build of the Corpus of Movie Scripts*, in which she gathered examples of expletive insertion from 967 movie scripts, mostly American (their dates of origin ranging from 1980 to 2015). The following sections will provide more information about the sources. The items from these sources included in my sample will be accordingly marked in the sample list appearing in the Appendix.

3.3.1. Corpus data mining

The British National Corpus (further only the BNC), with its 100 million words, was selected as the primary source of British English (most other sources were either American or mixed). Since the occurrence of expletive inserting was expected to be low, the corpus search has not been filtered in any manner. A query of the type *.*bloody.** (query type: lemma) has been

constructed with the following premise in mind: looking for forms where there will be at least one letter before the inserted form *bloody* and at least one letter or sign (“-“) after the insert. This query was formed with the expectation that it will exhaust the options of inserted word forms with specific expletive infixes (such as *.+fucking+.*; *.+frigging.+*, *.+motherfucking.+* and 28 remaining expletives). The search results were sorted manually and the gathered cases of expletive insertion were cataloged for subsequent analysis. A similar procedure was used to search COCA (using the **seed word** query). The corpus search yielded 13 items from the BNC and 23 items from COCA. The number of items found in the corpora is relatively small and shows that expletive insertion is an infrequent phenomenon and these two corpora are too small or, alternatively, that it tends to occur in different types of discourse than recorded by these corpora.

3.3.2. Authentic examples from secondary literature

As has been mentioned before, three of the secondary sources on expletive insertion contained their own lists or examples or mentions on expletive insertion that have been collected by the authors themselves. These lists of examples represent a rich source which was incorporated into my sample for analysis. All these items were cataloged and supplied with the information on the year of collection and source/origin.

The first of these secondary sources of examples was a monograph by McMillan (1980, 170-181), who managed to collect a whole variety of bases with inserted expletives. His collection of examples spans more than half a century (1920-1979) and encompasses various text types and genres (newspaper articles, novels, documented conversation exchanges, slang thesauri etc.). Since McMillan's list contains samples of syntactic interposing as well, examples relevant for the analysis had to be selected manually. The number of examples taken from McMillan is seventy-five. The second source was Bauer's monograph (1983, 88-91), which has yielded eight examples, all of them extracted from fiction.

3.3.3. Movie script corpus of inserted formations as a source

The third source of expletive insertion examples was extracted from an MA pro gradu thesis *Expletive Infixation in Movie Scripts from the 1980s to Present Day and the Build of the Corpus of Movie Scripts* by Nevalainen (2015). As the title indicates, the thesis focuses on two main areas: first, exploring and describing the rules of expletive insertion and second, the manner in which expletive insertion appears in the movie scripts and the form it takes. The author managed to compile her own corpus of 967 movie scripts (covering most of the movie genres) and subsequently extract ninety-one examples of expletive insertion use, fifty-seven of which were included in my sample and used in the analysis.

3.3.4. The use of the Internet and base/infix substitutions

In order to form a sufficiently large sample for analysis, more instances of expletive insertion were searched for on the Internet and added to the list. The Internet was searched basically in two ways. First of all, three examples were extracted from the International Movie Script Database (<https://www.imsdb.com/>) by sifting through several scripts (other occurrences were found accidentally while watching a movie or a video on youtube.com/ or listening to a podcast). The second method took the form of an experiment, relying on a lexical field approach. When the base of an attested infixed formation was a word belonging to a group of related words (such as days of the week or city names), these words were inserted according to the model and searched for on the Internet using Google search in the hope that speakers might have used the expanded form with them. With the first group, the days of the week (Monday to Sunday), an expletive (*fucking*) was inserted inside the base and the results of the search were included in the sample. The group of city names was created by searching for the list of the largest British and American cities (on Wikipedia.org), and then checking whether those on top of the list occur on the web in the inserted form (several expletive inserts were tested and their position alternated as well). This method of extraction yielded additional twelve examples for the sample. The purpose of this ad hoc Google search was to test the amenability of words belonging to the same semantic field to expletive insertion and thus to establish that there is a certain productive pattern in operation and also to test alternative positions of the expletive insert.

3.4. An overview and characteristics of the sample

Due to the low frequency of expletive-insert formations, it is extremely difficult to collect a sample of the required size (about 200 examples in total). In order to do so, it was necessary to use any means available and, consequently, as follows from the previous description of the sources, the sample is heavily heterogeneous in many respects, especially in terms of time and place of collection, language variety, style and mode (written, spoken) and others. While the examples gathered by the authors of the studies (e.g., McMillan, 1980) go as far back as the beginning of the 20th century, the examples contained in the movie scripts and social media are very much recent, some of them dating from 2018.

In all fairness, it should be said that most of the examples are instances of “scripted” use (occurring in movie scripts as the richest sources of examples), i.e. they come from quasi-spoken language. However, although the actors more or less follow the movie script, there is some space for deviating from the movie script on a film set. Thanks to media and technology, it was possible to gather genuine instances of spoken expletive insertion use from podcast discussions and (non-scripted) Youtube videos. On the other hand, some of the examples come from fiction and represent written language while instances gathered from corpora stand in the middle. Generally, it is difficult to identify the (range of) texts from which the original examples were gleaned or where the texts were published. The sample is also very much heterogeneous when it comes to a language variety. It contains examples from British and Australian English but most of them come from American English.

To get a better idea of the time periods in which expletive-insert formations appeared and flourished, we may consider diagram 1 below produced by the Google Ngram Viewer (<https://books.google.com/ngrams>, 1. Dec 2018):



Diagram 1: Google Ngram, the use of the words *un-fucking-believable* and *abso-fucking-lutely*

What the diagram shows is how the two common cases of expletive insertion (*unfuckingbelievable*, *absofuckinglutely*) suddenly came into use in the second half of the 20th century. Although the occurrence of these formations is relatively small, it is not entirely negligible (see the percentage ratio in the left column).

Regardless of the imperfections of the sample, it is well-suited to the purposes of the study which aims to describe the general properties of both the base and the insert; their combinatory patterns; and the function and stress-related position of the inserted expletive rather than the diachronic, sociolinguistic or stylistic tendencies in the use of expletive insertion.

4. Analysis

4.1. Analysis of the bases

The aim of this section is to describe the properties of the words that form the bases of inserted formations in the sample in order to show what type of base is most likely to undergo expletive insertion. In other words, the section hopes to identify the prototypical base or bases that the native speaker of English is most likely to choose for this kind of lexical process because of their word-class, formal, syllabic or semantic characteristics.

4.1.1. Word-class distribution in the sample bases

As Table 2 shows expletive-insert formations in the sample represent all types of lexical words, nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. In addition, there are two more word classes, pronouns, and interjections. The category “other” includes special types, abbreviations, and dates, which however function as nouns in the text.

Word class	Sample items	per cent
Nouns	67	32.6
Adjectives	53	25.8
Adverbs	23	11.2
Interjections	24	11.7
Other (abbreviations and numeral words)	14	6.9
Verbs	10	4.9
Pronouns	14	6.9
Total	205	100.0

Table 2: The distribution of word classes in the sample

Nouns represent the largest word class among the bases in the sample, 67 items, i.e. 32.6 per cent of the sample. They divide into common nouns and proper names. There are 34 bases which are common nouns (such as *lia-fuckin-bility*, *psycho-fucking-analyst*, *Contra-fucking-band*) ranging from abstracts to concretes and 33 bases in the form of proper names. Among the latter there are 6 personal names, both first and second names (*FER-FUCKING-NANDO*, *Gali-*

fucking-leo, *Nostra-fucking-damus*, *Ma-fuckin-guire*, *Cinder-fuckin'-rella*, *Fitti-fucking-paldi*), two brand names (*Beni-fucking-hana*, *Rux-fucking-pin*), days of the week (*Monday – Sunday*), 8 city names (*Birmingfuckingham*, *Tumba-bloody-rumba*, *Aber-bloody-deen*, *Lauder-damn-dale*) and other geographical names (*Su-fuckin'-matra*, *Mala-bloody-ga*, *Kat-Man-fucking-Du*). The fact that 50,7 per cent of the noun bases in the sample are common nouns and 49,3 per cent are proper names suggests that even though expletive insertion is fairly prevalent among common nouns, expletively inserted proper names appear to be highly popular.

The second largest group of bases among the sample items are **adjectives** with 53 instances (25.8 per cent). Although the sample cannot be described as strictly representative, a large number of adjectives in the sample shows that this type of base, like nouns, is very much typical of expletive-insert formations. Most of the adjectives are used in attributive position and used as modifiers (*enor-fucking-mous dog*, *hufuckingmongous proportions*, *out-goddamnedrageous steals*) rather than predicative position (*the old lady was like that*, *big-bloody-hearted*, *it's fan-flamingtastic*). From a semantic point of view, the adjectival bases included both qualifying (*ri-goddamn-dicolous*, *wonder-fucking-ful*, *un-fucking professional*, *un-be-fucking-lievable*) and also quantifying types (*Chi-bloody-nese*, *meta-fuckin'-physical*, *trans-bloody-continental*).

The third largest group of infixed bases are **adverbs** (23 items, 11.2 per cent). A large number of these adverbs (ten instances of *absolutely*) are those regularly derived from adjectives by the suffix *-ly*. From a syntactic point of view, many of these adverb-based formations are used as subjectless clauses of the adverbial type, such as the affirmative *Abso-freaking-lutely!* (Dušková et al, 2006: 382). Among 9 other instances *absolutely* there are other two instances where the adverb is used as a short adverbial sentence and is even repeated alone after a previous mention (e.g. *Regardless. Re-fucking-gardless*; *Outside. Out bloody side*). Besides the derivational adverbs, viable candidates are **compound adverbs** of which there were 10 cases (*for-fucking-ever*, *out bloody side*, *some-fucking-place*, *in-fuckin'-side*, *per-bloody-haps*, *to-fucking-gether*, *o-damn-clock*, *in-bloody-deed*, *to-bloodymora*, *licketyfuckingsplit*).

Verbs are represented by 10 examples (4.9 per cent) and are by far the least represented type of lexical words. These ten verbs serving as bases are: *be-awfully-ware*, *dis-damn-membered*, *e-fuckin'-vaporate*, *ad-bloody-vance*, *guaran-goddamn-tee* (and 4 other variants),

spifli-bloody-cate. As expected, all of the verb instances are **lexical verbs**. In two cases the verb is expletively inserted when used in an imperative sentence (*E-fuckin'-vaporate! I mean now!// When the bugle sounds – Ad-bloody-vance!*). In two cases the expletive insertion takes place in a short declarative sentence (*But it's guaran-fuckin-teed; I hear he cut one guy up with a machete. Dis-damn-membered him.*). A common trait for expletively inserted verbs is the shortness of the sentence and the imperative sentence type (which incites the emotive intensification itself). From a semantic point of view, the multiple occurrences of a verb *to guarantee* (...and I *guaran-goddamn-tee* you...; *guaranfriggintee*; *guaran-fuckin-teed*) can be perhaps explained by being a member of the class of **performative verbs** (*promise, invite, apologize*). The action is performed by uttering the verb, which has a pragmatic effect and dynamicity, which again incites emotive intensification. It can be said that **performative verbs** are good candidates for expletive insertion (providing that they meet prosodic requirements *'pro-fucking-mise). Arguably, non-fulfillment of prosodic requirements is the very fact why expletive insertion is scarce among verbs, if you look at the list of irregular/ or regular verbs⁶ in English, the majority of them are monosyllabic or disyllabic (stressed on the first syllable). The viable candidates are mostly verbs with prefixes (*disappear, dismember, remove, interrupt*) or products of conversion/ zero-derivation (*guarantee*)

Interjections, with 24 instances (11.7 per cent) represent a remarkably large group among the word classes (they belong to non-referential word classes). Their large representation can be ascribed to their characteristics since they already are purely emotive words and they do not enter syntactic relation (Quirk et al 1985, 853). Strong excitement, emotion or surprise of the word is then only furthermore emphasized by the expletive insertion (*Toodle-fucking-oo*), which explains why, although being a non-referential word class, they are such viable candidates. Promising candidates are iconic formations which contain the onomatopoeic, echoic and sound word. The sample contained twelve cases of echoic-sound motivated reduplicatives, both total/partial (*bow-for God' sake-wow, hardy-fuckin-har (hardy-har-har), boo-fuckin'-hoo, boom-bloody-boom, fiddle-fucking-faddle, ha-bloody-ha, fiddle-de-fucking-dee, okey-fucking-dokey*) and eleven instances of exclamations (*halle-bloody-lujah, Confuckinggratulations, a-fuckin'-men, tally bloody ho*). It should be noted that expletively inserted interjections also usually stand alone as accompanying sentences. (*Hoo-bloody-rah!; Okey-fucking-dokey!; Fiddlefuckingfaddle!*).

⁶ <https://cla.univr.it/webclass/castelli/b1/verbs/regular%20verbs%20list.pdf>

Pronouns, with their 14 instances (6.9 per cent), were represented by 5 reflexive pronouns (2 instances of a pronoun *my-bloody-self*/ *me-bloody-self*, *them-fucking-selves*, *ourfuckingselves*, *him-fucking-self*) and indefinite pronouns (*any-bloody-thing*, *whatso-bloody-ever*, *everygoddamnbody*, *no-goddamn-where*, *everydamnwhere*, *every-bloody-body*). Despite the fact that pronouns are strictly functional words, many of them are complex words (compounds) with a sufficient number of syllables to allow for expletive insertion. The class of interrogative and reciprocal pronouns (in the analysed sample) remained unexhausted with many viable candidates for expletive insertion left out (*nobody*, *somebody*, *whatever*, *oneself*). The other pronoun types (cf. demonstrative, relative, interrogative pronouns) show that expletive insertion is not feasible due to their shortness and mono-syllabicity (*who*, *what*, *that*, *these*).

The group labeled as “Other” should be, strictly speaking, added to nouns. It was singled out, however, because of its special character. It contains 14 items, 9 initialisms (*I-A-fucking-D*, *D-K-fucking-N-Y* (DKNY), *R.I fucking. P.*, *P.O.fucking W*, *F-fuckin-BI*, *A-FUCKING-SAP*, *O-for-God's-sake-K*) and 5 numeral-words (*19-fucking-70*, *19-fuckin'-43*, *three-goddamn-thirty*, *eighty-fucking-two*, *nineteen-fucking-eighty*). Both numeral words and initialisms function in a clause as nouns; an initialism is spelled and pronounced as a sequence of letters whereas years and other numeral words as individual numbers. Spelling out each letter presupposes pronouncing each of them as a full syllable, which makes them optimal candidates for expletive insertion.

While all the papers and books consulted on expletive insertion rule out **function words** as bases, I discovered – after the analysis of the sample had been completed – three instances of more word classes as bases: a determiner, a conjunction and a preposition with an expletive insert: *not a-fucking-nother one*, *al-fucking-though*, *in-fucking-side the word itself*. Although these are no doubt rare exceptions, they nevertheless show that the view of the possible word-class of expletive insertion bases must be modified and the range of possible word classes in bases expanded. In fact, this finding supports what has been suggested above, i.e. rather than the word class of the base it may be the length of the word that decides whether it can or cannot be a suitable base for expletive insertion.

The results of word-class analysis show that nouns (including the category “other”) and adjectives form two thirds of the sample bases (134 items, 65.4 per cent). In other words, these two word-classes are most likely to be subject to expletive insertion.

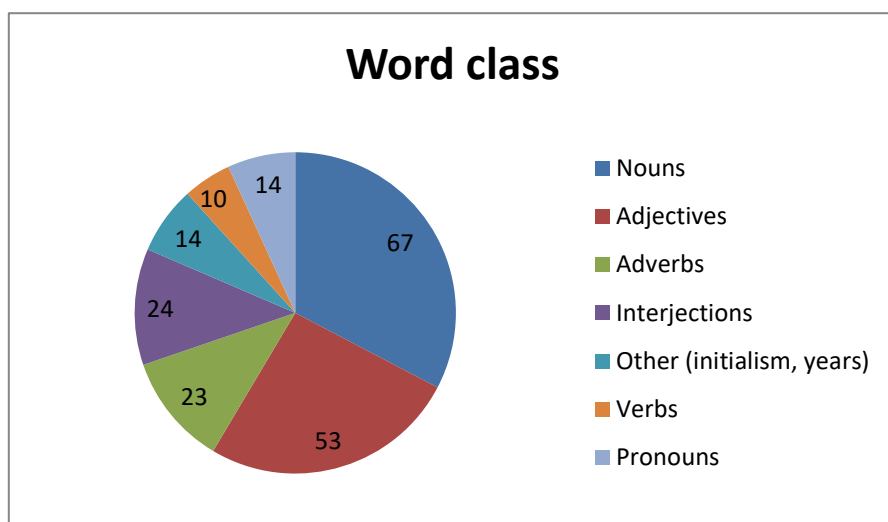


Diagram 2: Word-class distribution in the sample

4.1.2. The formal structure of the sample bases

Another aspect to address was the formal structure of the bases appearing in the sample. We can divide the sample bases into words lacking internal structure (simple or monomorphemic words) and words with clear internal structure, i.e. complex words. Words lacking internal structure are simplex words, proper names (with no distinguishable morphemes), products of shortening, and numeral words. Complex words, on the other hand, consist of two or more morphemes each of which then contributes its own distinct piece of meaning to the whole. They result from compounding and derivation (*psychoanalyst, everywhere, ridiculous, enormous*, etc.).

Structure of the base	Sample items	per cent
Complex words	143	69.7
Simple word	62	30.3
Total	205	100.0

Table 3: The ratio of simplex to complex bases in the sample

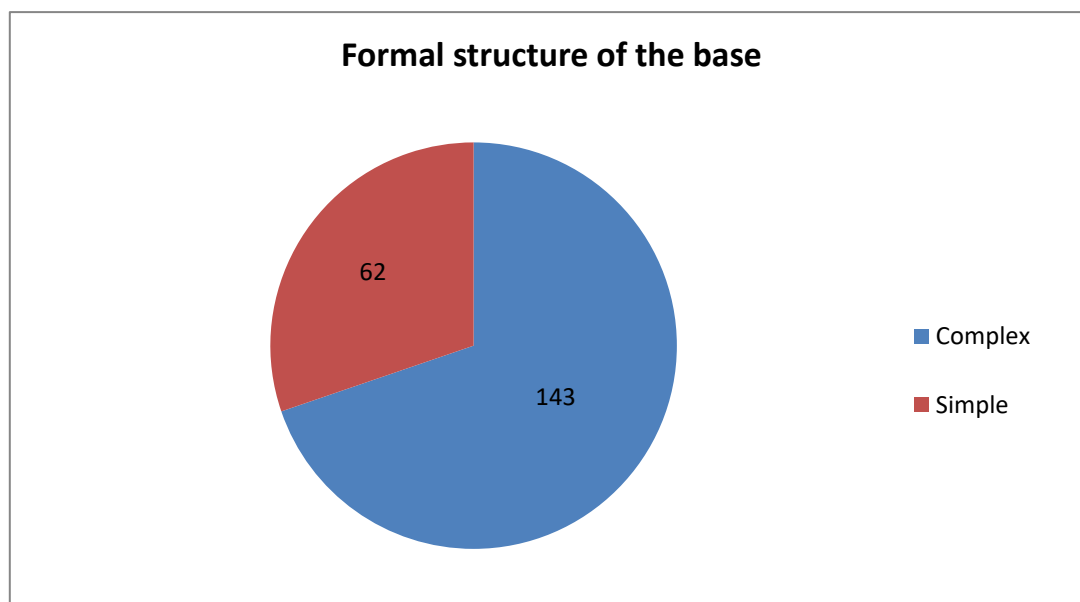


Diagram 3: The formal structure of the base: the proportion of complex to simple structure bases

4.1.2.1. Bases lacking internal structure

The relatively high incidence of bases described here as having no internal structure (62 cases, 30.3 per cent), i.e. bases which are mono-morphemic (simple or simplex lexical words) or whose morphemic structure is difficult or impossible to determine synchronically, can be ascribed mainly to a high incidence of proper names (33 cases, 53.2 per cent) and numeral and letter words (15 cases, 24.2 per cent) while simple lexical words are represented by **mere 14 cases** (22.6 per cent).

Type of base	Sample items	Per cent
Proper names	33	53.2
Numeral and letter words	15	24.2
Simple words	14	22.6
Total	62	100.0

Table 4: The distribution of bases with no internal structure

In the case of proper names, the position of the insert disrupts the structureless base and is heavily dependent on the position of the stress (it is guided by prosody). There exists a common denominator for expletively inserted first names, second names and geographical names: since

the insert is placed inside a structureless base, the names bear primary stress (rather than secondary stress) on the second or third syllable. They are also polysyllabic, ranging from two to five syllables (*Ala-damn- 'bama*, *Tumba-bloody- 'rumba*, *FER-FUCKING- 'NANDO*, *Nostra-fucking- 'damus*, *Ma-fucking- 'guire*, *Fitti-fucking- 'paldi*, *Cinder-fuckin- 'rella*, *Gali-fucking- 'leo*, *Kat-Man-fucking- 'Du*, *Viet-fucking- 'nam*, *So-bloody- 'ho*, *Pica-damn- 'dilly*, *Bho-bloody- 'wani*). Interesting is the case of city names like *Ft. 'Lauder-damndale*, *'Man-fucking-chester*, *'Liver-fucking-pool*, *'Birmin-fucking-ham*, historically composed of two elements which however are no longer felt to be compounds. The expletive is inserted before the part of the word (*chester*, *dale*, *pool*, *ham*) which analogously, occurs in similar city names. According to the OED, *chester* means “a city or walled town; originally one that had been a Roman station in Britain,” and its use, except in combination is obsolete. The constituent *chester* is currently present only in British city names *Winchester*, *Lanchester*, *Chesterfield*, etc. Similarly, *pool* in city names stands for the pool or tidal creek, *dale* for a valley and *ham* for a home. Although, diachronically speaking, their use in city names represents a case of compounding such compounds are no longer productive. A similar case as the British cities are names of the days of the week (*'Mon-fucking-day*, *'Tuesfuckingday*, *'Wednesfuckingday*, etc.), which are inherited from Germanic (OED). The expletive insert is as a rule inserted before *-day*. Arguably this is again a case of non-productive compounding - names of the days in a week have become lexicalized as shown by the reduced pronunciation [-di] of the constituent *day* in speech.

Simplex words are represented by three Latin borrowings (*amen*, *abracadabra*, *discreet*), three French borrowings (*derriere*, *propaganda*, *tally-ho*), one Hebrew borrowing (*hallelujah*), one Italian borrowing (*umbrella*), one Australian borrowing (*kangaroo*), one Anglo-Norman (*advance*) one native word (Old English *enough*⁷), two of unknown or undetermined (according to OED) origin (*hurrah*, *toodle-oo*). It is worth noticing that simplex words in the sample come from a wide range of sources; besides a few commonplace Latin and French items, they include such international words as *propaganda*, *derriere*, *amen*, and *abracadabra*. Strictly speaking, they go far beyond everyday vocabulary.

Last but not least, numeral and letter words (cf. McMillan, 1980: 163) were also included among simple words. Counting 14 cases altogether. Their formal structure (i.e. *19-fucking-70*,

⁷ OED: *e-* in *enough* stands for Old English prefix *ge-* therefore technically it is a case of prefixation

19-fuckin'-43) sometimes precludes morphemic analysis and to a certain degree can be seen as mono-morphemic. In the sample, the expletive insertion appears to be limited strictly to initialisms (*r.i.p.*, *IAD*, *DKNY*) with a single exception, the initialism *asap* which can be also used as an acronym (the OED gives both uses of a.s.a.p).

To conclude, with the exception of proper names (which tend to be polysyllabic or heavily lexicalized and structurally opaque compounds) and special cases of numeral and letter words, expletive insertion appears in simplex words only very rarely and when it does it seems to affect rather specific vocabulary. The findings confirm that expletive insertion is indeed associated primarily with complex rather than simple words.

4.1.2.2. Complex bases

In terms of word-formation, complex-word bases accounting for 143 inserted formations in the sample are represented by two word-formation processes: derivation and compounding. For the representation of these word-formation processes, see Table 5 below:

Word-formation process	Sample items	per cent
Compounding	63	44.0
Derivation	80	56.0
Total	143	100.0

Table 5: The distribution of word-formation processes in complex bases in the sample

Compounding (63 instances, 45.7 per cent) is a word-formation process by which compounds as new words are “made up of two elements each of which is used elsewhere in the language as a word in its own right” (Bauer, 2017: 1). The compound is intentionally defined here rather loosely to cover all kinds of structures (including reduplicatives, neoclassical compounds, etc.). Compounds, according to McMillan (1980: 163), represent a type of structure, where the expletive insert is as a rule inserted between the two bases, as in *big-bloody-hearted* (or what he refers to as *genuine tmesis*).

Concerning orthography of the compound bases, solid compounds (44 instances, 72.0 per cent) prevail. Hyphenated compounds occur in 19 cases (28.0 per cent) and their presence is mainly due to a high proportion of reduplicatives (which are usually hyphenated). On the other hand, there is a growing tendency, especially on social networks (Twitter, Instagram), to use hyphens, and sometimes even spaces or quotation marks, instead of solid forms, as in *Fry fucking day*, *Sun“fuckin”day*, *abso-freaking-lutely*. This tendency can be seen merely as a practical means to give greater prominence to the inserted word and make the resultant formation more transparent (cf. *imfuckingpossible* vs. *im-fucking-possible*).

From a morphological point of view, the sample compounds include the following word classes: 17 compound nouns (*dimwit*, *cryptocurrency*), 12 compound interjections (*bow-wow*), 12 compound adjectives (*almighty*, *outrageous*), 12 compound pronouns (*myself*, *whatsoever*) and 10 compound adverbs (*perhaps*, *indeed*). Such a broad range of word-classes shows that as far as compounds are concerned the phenomenon is not limited only to specific word-classes. Semantically speaking, expletive insertion is applied to both endocentric compounds (*Disneyland*, *railway*) and, marginally, also metaphoric exocentric compounds (*bullshit*, *dimwit*).

Finally, the sample includes two special types of compounds – reduplicative compounds (*chop-chop*, *boom-boom*, *fiddle-de-do*, *bow-wow*, *okey dokey*) and neoclassical (combining-form or stem) compounds. There are 10 different kinds of combining forms, both initial and final, in the sample. The prevalent type is the classical Latin and Greek combining form (*atmofuckingsphere*, *megalo-bloodymaniac*, *hypo-bloody-crite*, *multi-bloody-storey*, *geogoddamngraphic*, *theojollylogical*) occurring in 6 items, followed by 1 instance of combining form of the free-standing word type (*megalomaniac*).

On the whole, it appears that the typical compound most likely to be subject to expletive insertion is a nominal endocentric typographically solid formation. Nevertheless, the variety of compounds in the sample (ranging from root compounds to reduplicatives and neoclassical compounds) suggests that rather than structural properties it is the communicative goals that decide which compound will undergo expletive insertion provided the essential requirements are met (sufficient length, metric structure, etc).

Derivational processes in English work on the principle of forming new bases by the addition of an affix; affixes can be divided into prefixes and suffixes. The sample contains 80 cases of lexical derivation, while there have been **34** (43.5 per cent) cases of suffixation, **16** cases of pre-fixation (19.5 per cent) and **30** cases (37.0 percent) of multiple affixations (combination of pre-fixation and suffixation).

Type of derivation	Sample items	Per cent
Suffixation	34	42.5
Multiple affixation	30	37.5
Preffixation	16	20.0
Total	80	100.0

Table 6: The distribution of derivational processes

The prefixes in the sample are mostly productive (*un-*, *de-*, *in-*, *super-*, *post-*). However, there are also 2 unproductive prefixes: 7 instances of *con-* and a single instance of *contra-* (both foreign prefixes of Latin origin) as in *inconsiderate* and *contraband* (both of which came into English as loanwords from Latin and Spanish/Italian respectively). In terms of semantic categories, the sample bases included the following classes of prefixes, in descending order (after the CGEL classification): 23 instances of negative prefixes (*unconscious*, *immaterial*, *irresponsible*, *disagreeable*), 8 instances of place and direction prefixes (*outside*, *inside*, *metaphysical*) 4 instances of time and order prefixes (*repugnant*, *postimpressionists*), single instance of transpositional/class changing prefix (*dismember*) and a single instance of degree/status prefix (*superlative*). The distribution of semantic categories shows that negative prefixes strongly prevail over the second (place and directional prefixes) and the third (time and order prefixes) category of prefixes. While the occurrence of the latter two groups may be accidental (or perhaps influenced by a large number of place adverbials such as *outside*, *inside*) the strong presence of the semantic class of negative prefixes is most likely not random. There seems to be a marked tendency to expletively insert and by that means intensify already emotively charged negative words (*inconsistent*, *disagreeable*, *impossible* etc.), when the speaker feels the need to vent his frustration.

From a morphological point of view, suffixes were, for the most part, represented by class changing suffixes, such as nominalization suffixes **–ation** (*obligation*, *fluctuation*, *confrontation*) and **–or** (*emancipator*); adjectivisation suffixes **–able** (*unbelievable*, *disagreeable*, *unspeakable*), **–ese** (*Chinese*), **–ful** (*beautiful*, *wonderful*), **–(i)ous** (*ridiculous*, *enormous*, *outrageous*) and the adverbalisation suffix **–ly** (*absolutely*). The distribution of class changing suffixes may be directly connected with the more frequent occurrence of some word-classes over the other ones. As has been described in 4.1.1, nouns and adjectives represent the most frequent word-classes to be subjected to expletive insertion. Verbs, on the other hand, occur very rarely. In the total of 10 expletively inserted verbs in the sample, there are only 2 instances of verb forming affix **–ate** (*spiflicate*, *evaporate*). The representation of nominal and adjectival suffixes is in keeping with the overall distribution of word-classes in the sample (see above) with nouns and adjectives accounting for two thirds of the sample bases. There could be observed a predominance of some semantic classes of suffixes among the derived nouns: e.g. action and activity suffixes **–ment**, **–ion**, **–tion**. Also the ability of some Latin and Greek suffixes to shift stress has to be noted, since according to Plag (2003: 101) affixes like **–eer** (*muske'teer*) are auto-stressed and others such as **–ese** (*'China* vs. *Chi'nese*), **–(at)ion** (*'fluctuate* vs. *fluctu'ation*, *o'blige* vs. *obli'gation*) **–ic** (cf. *'fantasy* vs. *fan'tastic*) are suffixes that trigger prosodic alternations. It follows that while a majority of suffixes is unstressed (*–ly*, *–able*, *–less*, *–full*), those suffixes that carry or shift stress (*–ese*, *–ic*, *–eer*, *–(at)ion*) facilitate expletive insertion and help it to take place (cf. **Chi-fucking-na* vs. *Chi-fucking-nese*; **fan-fucking-tasy* vs. *fan-fucking-tastic*).

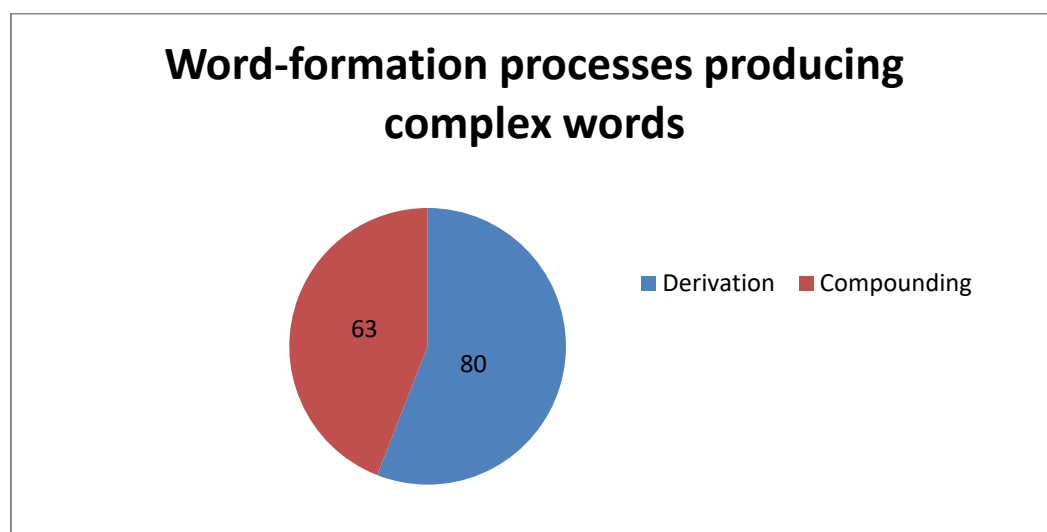


Diagram 4: The ratio of word-formation processes producing the complex bases in the sample

4.1.3. Semantic clustering of the sample bases into groups

It appears that the sample is sufficiently big to show that inserted formations have a strong inclination to form homogenous semantic groups. First and foremost, there is a tendency to apply expletive insertion to bases that already contain some kind of emotional charge. The most prominent among them is a group of negatively evaluative words that generally express some kind of **dissent, disagreement, disappointment, dismissal, and disgust**.

(1) **Negatively evaluative words** can be divided into:

(a) Morphologically negative (prefixed) words (23 instances): 12 instances of prefix **un-** (*unsatisfactory*, 4 instances of *unbelievable, unconscious, unnatural, unprofessional, unreal, unsatisfactory, unsociable, unspeakable*), 1 instance of prefix **ir-** (*irresponsible*), 3 instances of prefix **im-** (2 instances of *impossible, immaterial*) 4 instances of prefix **in-** (*inconsiderate, inconsistent, inconspicuous, independent*), 1 instance of prefix **dis-** (*disagreeable*), 2 instances of prefix **de-** (*degenerate, deplorable*).

(b) Lexically negative words - offensive names, terms of abuse (6 instances): *asshole, butt-ugly, bullshit, dimwit, repugnant, bone-lazy, outrageous*

Second, there are bases that express positive feelings and therefore stand at the opposite end of the evaluation scale compared to the negatively evaluative words of type (a) and (b) (at least out of the context). These positively evaluative words are expressing **enthusiasm, elation, pleasant surprise and strong agreement**.

(2) **Positively evaluative words** can be subdivided into:

(a) Expressive adjectives and adverb (5 instances): *wonderful, fantastic, beautiful, bighearted, absolutely*,

(b) Nouns and adjectives of degree, size, power, quality (5 instances): *superlative, enormous, monstrosity*.

As the distribution of word-classes shows, nouns also include one highly prominent subgroup showing emotive intensification which subsumes all kinds of proper names (33 instances), Expletive insertion with proper names results either in negative or (less frequently) positive evaluation,

(3) Proper names (33 instances) consist of toponyms, anthroponyms, etc.:

(a) city names (*Manchester*), (b) personal names (*Fittipaldi, Fernando*), (c) names of days (*Monday to Sunday*), (d) brand names (*Ruxpin, Benihana, Disneyland*), and (e) names of nationalities (*Chinese, Lithuanians*)

Finally, words that serve merely as emotive intensifiers themselves (interjections) are often intensified by expletive insertion as well, they function as:

(4) Exclamations (24 instances): *boo-hoo, toodle-oo, haha, congratulations, fiddle-de-dee, chop-chop, bow-wow, tally-ho*

All four broad semantic groupings (lexical fields) share some kind of emotive charge, intensifying force with an underlying evaluative judgment. The evaluative meaning is typically negative, but it can also be positive. Mattiello (2013: 16) similarly questions the general claim that inserts are only used to form “deprecativ constructions.” She argues that “[n]ot all uses of expletive infixes are in fact ‘deprecativ’”. For example, *bea-fucking-utiful* is a very positive word. What they all have in common is the very informal nature of the lexical items used for infixation, some of which are considered to be swear words (hence, “expletive infixation”), and the fact that the infixes are intensifiers” (Mattiello, 2013: 258)

As has been said in chapter 2.2.3. vulgar and irreverent inserts may occasionally be substituted by a euphemistic or even a neutral insert (*blessed, bloomin’*), although, to quote Mattiello (2013: 268) again: “Neutral terms are rarely used as infixes, a few exceptions being absolutely in *guaran-absolutely-tee* and extremely in *terra-extremely-firma*, with a purely intensifying function.” The distribution of different types of expletive inserts in the sample is in detail described in chapter 4.2.2.

Also, the above semantic groups are by no means the only ones that share expletive insertion although they are numerically the most prominent ones in the sample (cf. the group of reflexive pronouns: *myself, themselves*, etc.). It seems that certain sets of words are predisposed for evaluative insertion by their very nature. The common denominator of these sets of words forming semantic clusters is a particular semantic component or the context in which they are typically used that often incites an emotional reaction. In other words, they appear to invite emotive intensification.

Bauer (2017: 17) in his monograph points out that apart from insertion “there is another possible form in which the expletive precedes the relevant word: *fucking absolutely*, *bloody kangaroo* and so on.” However, the fact that there are whole semantic groups of words that are negatively/positively intensified by expletive insertion is a strong hint that the use of insertion may have some deeper cause such as analogy (a successful intensification by insertion in one word may trigger its use in related words). Insertion by analogy can be reinforced by another effect: possibly a greater degree of intensification is achieved when the insert is placed inside the base and not before. The chart below gives the overall proportional representation of the semantic groups in the sample.

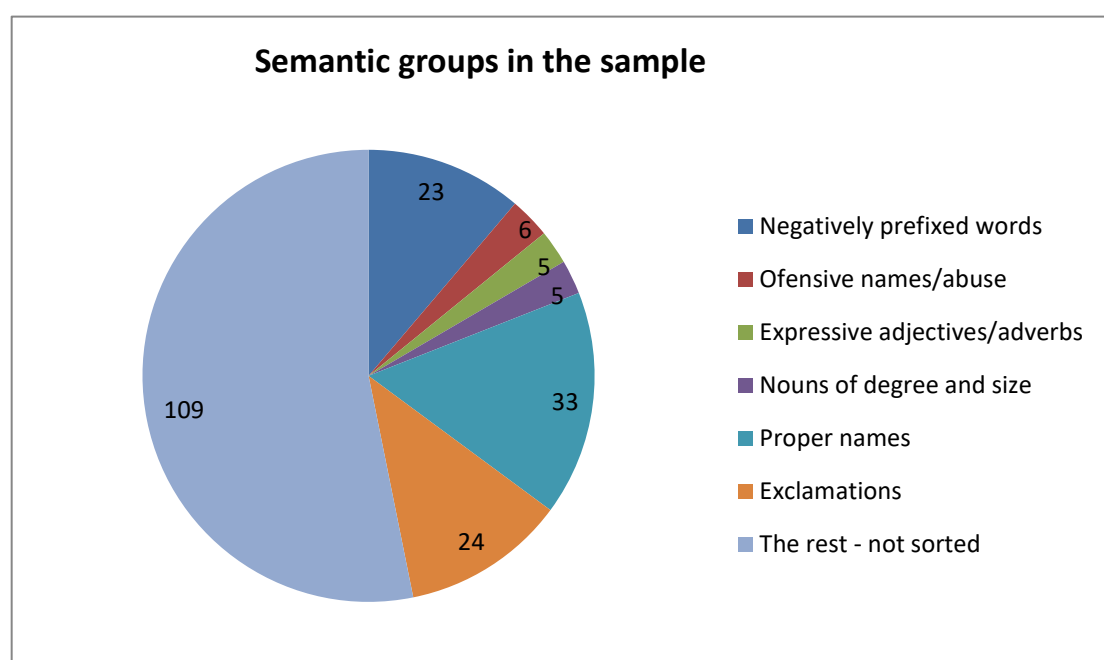


Diagram 5: The distribution of semantic groups in the samples

4.1.4. Syllabic structure of the sample bases

As has been discussed in the theoretical part, there are several rules that concern the syllabic structure of the base. Bauer (1983: 91; also McMillan 1980; McCawley 1978) argues that the most common cases are words of three or more syllables, while the minimal-length candidate would be a disyllabic word with some degree of stress on the second syllable, since bases with initial stress which is followed by syllables that are unstressed do not allow for insertion (**hap-fucking-py*, **crim-fucking-nal*). The present sample includes bases ranging from disyllabic bases

up to six-syllable bases. The table 7 summarizes the number of disyllabic and polysyllabic bases and also gives the average of syllable per base.

Number of syllables within the base	Sample items	Per cent
Two-syllable words	59	28.8
Three-syllable words	62	30.3
Four-syllable words	61	29.8
Five-syllable words	21	10.2
Six-syllable words	2	0.90
TOTAL:	205	100.0
The average number of syllables per base	3,2	

Table 7: The distribution of disyllabic and polysyllabic bases in the sample and the syllable average

The table 7 shows us that the occurrence of two-, three- and four-syllable words in the sample is very much the same: three-syllable words with 62 instances (*hypocrite, atmosphere, somebody, guarantee*) are very closely followed by four syllable words with 61 instances (*independent, unbelievable, superlative, Alabama*) and two-syllable words with 59 instances (*boo-hoo, outside, enough, Monday*). Then there is a big gap between these three groups and the five-syllable words (*inconsiderate, congratulations, unprofessional*) with 21 instances and then six-syllable words (*megalomaniac, horticulturalist*) with only 2 instances.

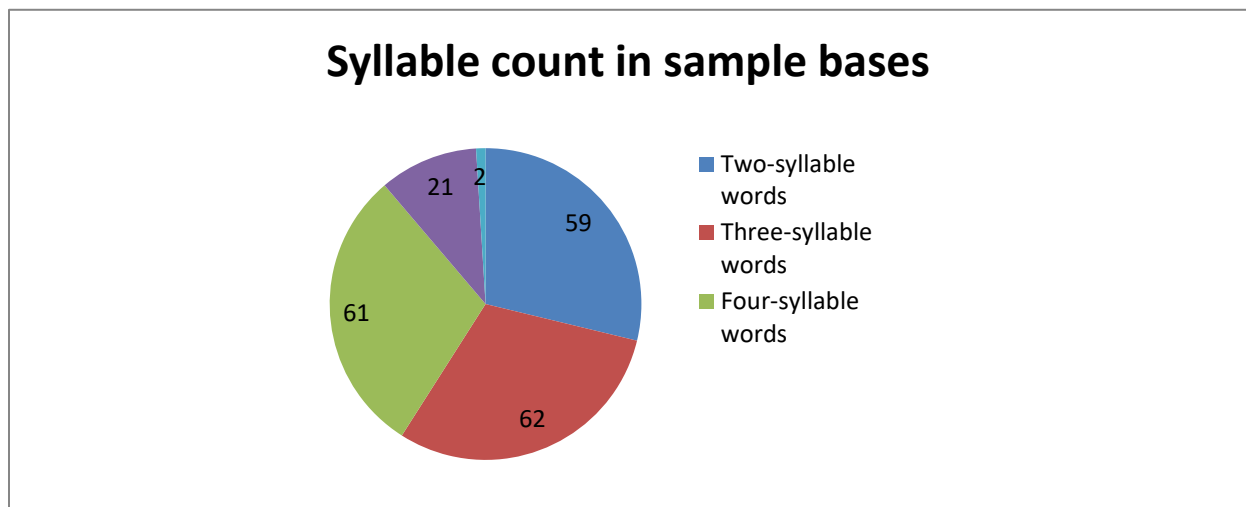


Diagram 6: The distribution of disyllabic and polysyllabic bases in the sample

Although the average number of syllables per base (3,2 syllables) corresponds with the general claim that the most common words to undergo expletive insertion are words of three and more syllables, the actual distribution of bases was something of a surprise. The fact that disyllabic bases are just as frequent as three- and four-syllable ones shows, that the length of the base need not be a decisive factor in the use of expletive insertion. Obviously, a more systematic and extensive search for inserted formations is necessary. The relatively high number of minimal-length bases is due to the high number of short function words among them – pronouns such as reflexive *myself, themselves* (10 instances), 14 instances of reduplicative interjections (*boo-hoo, chop-chop*) and 10 instances of short compound adverbs (*inside, outside*).

4.2. Analysis of the expletive insert

The following part of the thesis focuses on expletive (and other) inserts, the elements that are inserted into the base. The first subchapter lists all the inserts that occurred in the sample and subsequently evaluates their frequency. The second subchapter makes use of McMillan's classification of inserts, and divides the sample inserts into three categories, expletives, euphemisms and neutral terms, and presents and discusses the ratio of individual categories as they occur in the sample.

4.2.1. Enumeration and description of inserts in the sample

First of all, it is necessary to clarify why Table 8 below contains merely twenty-three different inserts even though the collection of potential inserts yielded thirty-one unique ones (see chapter 3.2). The reason behind the eventual reduction of the list of inserts that made it into the sample is simply due to the following practical reasons. The selection preferred those cases of expletive insertion that are accompanied by context. Next, it aimed at a sample of 200 items and it first focused on the main sources of expletive inserts, corpora, authentic examples from secondary literature, movie script corpus examples, and those occurring on the Internet (using mainly the Google engine), which represents a potentially inexhaustible supply of expletive insertions, mainly due to constant flood of social media content (Twitter, Instagram, Facebook⁸). Once the 200 items were collected, the sample was complete and formations with the following

⁸ For representation of individual social media examples see Appendix: List of Inserts

eight inserts had to be excluded from the analysis: *bleeping*, *by God*, *by heaven*, *fugging*, *pigging*, *pissing*, *shitting*, *sodding*. Nonetheless, Internet search can provide instances of all of them. To give at least some examples: *fan bleeping tastic* (Tripadvisor.com, 1. Jan 2019); *Waxa-by-god-hachie* (McMillan 1982: 180); *crystal by heaven clear* (McMillan 1982: 172); *fan-fugging-tastic* (Carolinahuddle.com); *fan-pigging-tastic* (Tripadvisor.com, 1. Jan 2019); *fan-pissing-tastic* (Twitter.com), *fan-shitting-tastic* (Twitter.com, 1. Jan 2019), *fan-sodding-tastic* (Wattpat.com, 1. Jan 2019). It is worth noticing that Google search yielded six instances of the adjective *fantastic* inserted by 6 different expletives, with most of them extracted from social media websites.

The following analysis is restricted only to the thirty-one expletive inserts that are found in the sample of formations collected for the purposes of the thesis. They are the following inserted elements:

	Insert	No.
1.	fucking, fuckin, fuckin'	105
2.	bloody	47
3.	goddamn	15
4.	damn	11
5.	motherfucking/ motherfuckin	4
6.	absolutely	2
7.	bleeding/ bleedin'	2
8.	for God's sake	2
9.	freaking/ freakin	2
10.	frigging/ friggin	2
11.	awfully	1
12.	bally	1
13.	blessed	1
14.	bloomin'	1
15.	effing	1
16.	flaming	1
17.	flipping	1
18.	jolly	1
19.	Goddamned	1
20.	one-hundred-per-cent	1
21.	posi	1
22.	Pygmalion	1
23.	stinkin	1
TOTAL		205

Table 8: List of inserts and their frequencies in the sample

The most frequent insert is the expletive *fucking* (or its variants *fuckin*, *fuckin'*) with 105 instances, i.e. half of the sample (51.2 per cent), followed by the expletive *bloody* with 47 occurrences (22.9 per cent of the sample). It is worth noticing that there exists a significant gap between these first two most common expletives (the expletive *fucking*, and its variant *fuckin*, exceeds *bloody* by 58 instances, almost a half), which is in keeping with what most authors claim about the dominance of *fucking* as an insert. The other members of the group of inserts have a rather low representation. The most frequent among them is *goddamn* with 16 instances and *damn* with 11 instances. The rest is marginal.

In terms of word-class, the largest group of inserts is comprised of deverbal adjectives in the form of the present participle (10 different items; 120 examples; 58.0 per cent). e.g. *fucking*, *stinkin*, *flipping*, *flaming* etc. and the past participle (two items), *blessed*, *goddamned*. The second largest group is formed by all the other types of adjectives (5 items: *bally*, *bloody*, *damn*, *goddamn*, *jolly*). Next, the sample includes two adverbial inserts *absolutely*, *awfully*; one noun used as an insert (*Abso-Pygmalion-lutely*) and two phrases, a prepositional phrase (*O-for-God's-sake-K*) and a quantifying expression (*abso-one-hundred-per-cent-lutely*). Last but not least, there also appeared one instance of a clipped adverbial (*abso-posi-lutely*). It follows that the most typical insert in the sample is an adjective, specifically deverbal adjective - both with regard to the variety of this type of inserts and their overall frequency - while other word classes are used only exceptionally as inserts.

An important factor in the placement of inserts is their length. From this point of view, the situation in the set of inserts appearing in the sample is relatively simple. There are 17 disyllabic inserts, 2 three-syllable inserts (*for God's sake*, *awfully*), 3 four-syllable inserts (*motherfucking*, *absolutely*, *Pygmalion*) and one five-syllable one (*one-hundred-per-cent*). Clearly, a typical insert is a disyllabic adjective. This claim can be further supported by the fact that otherwise four-syllable *positively* adverbial was clipped to a two-syllable form *posi*.

4.2.2. The distribution of semantic categories of inserts

Section 2.2.3. describes McMillan's (1980: 164) categories of inserted elements depending on their stylistic function and degree of explicitness. He distinguishes three types, which I interpret for the purposes of the thesis as follows: (1) expletives, i.e. vulgar and profane swear words; (2) euphemisms, i.e. swear words whose form was altered to make them (more)

acceptable, and, what he calls, (3) neutral terms, i.e. expressions with intensifying function which, however, are neither swear words, nor euphemisms (substitutes for swear words). The distinction is some cases difficult to maintain, as with ‘bloody’, interpreted sometimes as blasphemous, referring to Christ’s blood, sometimes as a secular intensifier derived from ‘young bloods’ (rowdy young noblemen). Also deciding whether a word substitutes for a curse or not may be problematic, and similarly some of the neutral words can also have a euphemistic function. The decision is largely based on dictionary information. The inserts in the sample were divided as follows:

1. Expletives, (6 different items): *bloody, damn, fucking (fuckin, fuckin'), goddamn, goddamned, motherfucking (motherfuckin)*
2. Euphemisms, (5 different items): *bally, bleeding (bleedin'), effing, freaking (freakin), frigging/ (friggin)*
3. Neutral terms (12 different items): *absolutely, for God's sake, awfully, blessed, bloomin', flaming, flipping, jolly, one-hundred-per-cent, posi, Pygmalion, stinkin*

Although expletives (swear words) – a category regarded as the most typical for expletive insertion – numerically, form the smallest group, they are by far the most frequent in the sample (see Table 9 and Diagram 7), while neutral terms, although including the largest number of different items, are very infrequent in the sample (14 items, 6.8 per cent) . The table and chart summarize the proportion of expletives, euphemisms and neutral terms in the sample, They show that the expletives were used in the sample in 89.3 per cent, while euphemisms and neutral terms in mere 10.7 per cent, which gives a clear idea about the scarcity of euphemisms and neutral terms:

Category of the insert	Total occurrences	Per cent
Expletive	183	89.3
Euphemism	8	3.9
Neutral term	14	6.8
Total:	205	100.0

Table 9: The distribution of insert categories in the sample

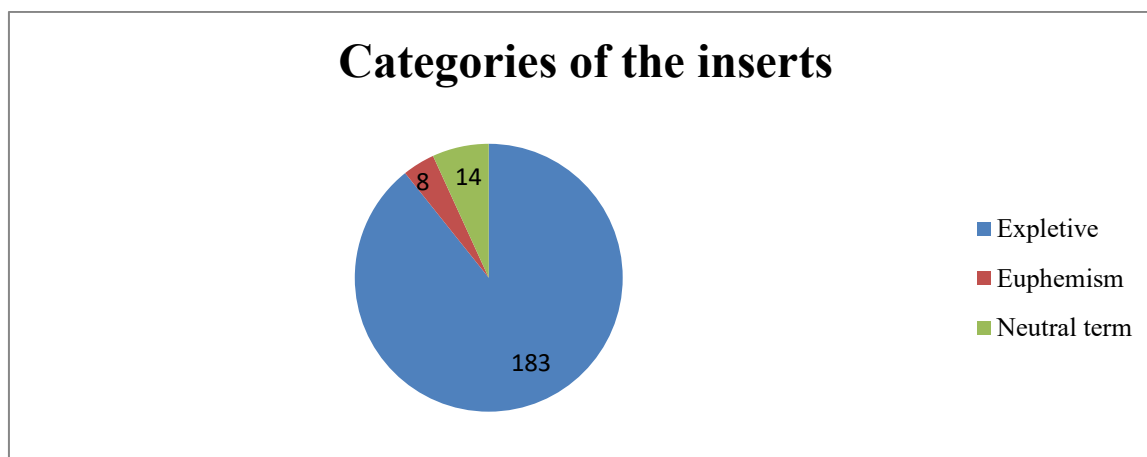


Diagram 7: The distribution of insert categories in the sample

The stylistic function of the inserts in group 1 is often referred to as that of an extreme emotive stress amplifier. Quirk et al. (1985: 1584) mention a combination of an already emotional hyperbole with an extreme intensifier. The stylistic effects of expletive insertion are best illustrated by examples in context. Below are several actual uses of insertion from film scripts and a newspaper. The first excerpt is from a transcript which captures a dispute between two drug producers:

WINSTON: What are you carrying, Willy?

WILLY: Er, fertilizer.

WINSTON: You went out six hours ago to buy a money counter and you come back carrying two bags of fertilizer. Alarm bells are ringing, Willy.

WILLY: We need fertilizer, Winston.

WINSTON: We also need a fucking money counter, William! We have to get the money out by Thursday and I'll be buggered if I am counting it . . . and if you have to get your sodding fertilizer, couldn't you be a little more subtle?

WILLY: What do you mean?

WINSTON: I mean we grow copious amounts of ganja, and you don't look like your average hort-er-fucking-culturalist, that's what I mean, Willy.

The dramatic effect of the conversation is achieved by the slow-wittedness of one of the participants, Willy. Winston tries to provide enough leads (parts that are underlined) for Willy to understand until he cannot stand it anymore (and the emotional hyperbole is built up) and Winston bursts out with word-for-word explanation expletively inserting the noun *horticulturalist*. By doing so, he mispronounces the word (*horterculturalist vs. horticulturalist) but also manages to vent his anger and achieve some kind of relief.

The next illustration shows the positive/non-derogatory use of the same expletive insert in a short speech from a 2016 movie *American Honey*, where the speaker emphasizes their certainty by expletively inserting an adverb:

SPEAKER 1: I mean, she's the rider. Like, if you're friends with her, she will make sure that you are fine. Regardless. Re-fucking-gardless.

It is worth noticing, that the base itself is first repeated and only then expletively inserted. This again amplifies the effect of emotive intensification.

The groups of euphemism and neutral terms subsume those inserts that essentially represent down-toned variants of expletives, sounding less vulgar and derogatory (cf. *blessed*, *bloomin'*, *jolly*, *flipping* etc.) while achieving a similar kind of emotive stress amplification. The following is an example of a euphemism in use: *this information was abso-blessed-lutely good*. Group 3 represents neutral stress amplifiers. The example is an extract from a Daily Telegraph article (3 Jan 2019), which illustrates the use of a neutral insert:

Prince William's nanny says engagement is 'fan-flamingtastic'. Prince William's former nanny has spoken of her joy at the engagement between the Prince and Kate Middleton, describing their union as "fan-flaming-tastic".

The headline comments on the emotive amplification of feeling of joy that the nanny expressed which led to the use of a neutral insert inside the adjective *fantastic*. The newspaper headline expresses the amazement about how the nanny formed her words of joy - using an insertion. Nonetheless, the context of the use only confirms its neutrality and non-derogatory effect (cf. engagement is *fan-flamingtastic* vs. engagement is *fan-fuckin-tastic*).

4.3. The position of the insert

In terms of **English prosody** there is a general rule that the expletive insert must be placed before a syllable with “some degree of stress” (McCarthy, 1982: 576) and it generally appears before a primarily stressed syllable (McMillan 1980: 164; McCarthy: 575, Bauer 1983: 90). In terms of **morphological structure**, expletive inserts are limited to five positions (as defined by McMillan 1980: 163; see 2.2.4.): (1) inside morphemes (*emancimotherfuckingpator*) (2) between base and affix (*unfuckingbelievable*, *dis-damn-membered*) (3) between compound

bases (*rail-bloody-way*, *jitter-fucking-bugging*) (4) inside letter and number words (*O-for-God's-sake-K*, *19-fuckin'-43*) and finally (5) inside names (*Lauder-damndale*, *Lithu-bloody-anians*).

The operation of prosody and morphological structure means that there must be a division of labor between the two levels, **prosodic** and **morphological**. While the prosodic level provides **prosodic motivation** (pronounceability, syllable and foot boundary), the morphological level involves **morphological motivation** and aims to preserve structural intelligibility (affix/base boundary). As Bauer (2015: 123) puts it, there even exist such bases, where speakers can choose between two possible sites where the insert can go, depending on the speaker's personal motivation. This can be either prosodic (dependent on stress) or morphological (dependent on word structure). Bauer (2017: 17) sums up the process of expletive insertion as follows:

“...any disyllabic expletive can be inserted immediately before a syllable which carries (primary or secondary) stress, with a preference for two syllables before the insertion. But it is frequently the case that this canonical structure is contravened in some way. *Ala-damn-bama*, *Portu-sodding-gal* and *ur-fucking-bane* show different kinds of contravention. It is also the case that where the insertion point can come between a prefix and the base, despite not fitting the stress criterion, the morphologically defined insertion point is preferred, as in *un-fucking-believable* and *over-fucking-excited* ..”

It follows that as far as derivatives and compounds are concerned, the inserts should display a tendency to preserve the morphological structure of the base, i.e. to lodge between morphemes. On the other hand, simple words and names (McMillan, 1980: 163) have no other option but to lodge inside the morpheme, i.e. before a stressed syllable. Recognizing the existence of these two principles, section 4.3.1. (and its subsections) examines the sample to determine the number of bases that preserve the morphological structure of the word and the number of those that do go against it. Based on the data, the concluding section 4.3.3. focuses on those bases that allow for more than one insert positions.

4.3.1. The position of the insert with the regard to the base structure

For greater transparency, the total of **205 items** is divided into groups according to McMillan's five insert positions with regard to the formal structure of the bases (see sections 4.1.2.1. and 4.1.2.2.):

- (1) Subsection 4.3.1.1. analyzes insertions in derivatives (formed by prefixation/multiple affixation/ suffixation).
- (2) Subsection 4.3.1.2. analyzes insertions in compounds.

- (3) Subsection 4.3.1.3. analyzes insertions in words without a clear morphological structure (proper names, numeral and letter words, simple lexical words).⁹

As can be deduced, the main division is between complex words (groups (1) and (2)) and simple or simplex words (group 3), i.e. those without a clear morphological structure (numeral and letter words, proper names and simple lexical words).

4.3.1.1. Inserts placed between base and affix

Starting with the first group, the suitable candidates for insert position between an affix and the base are structurally only two types of bases, both produced by derivation: prefixed bases and suffixed bases. Section 4.1.2.2. offered a list of individual items formed by pre/suffixation and multiple affixations, i.e. prefixed and suffixed at the same time (**16** cases of prefixation, **34** cases of suffixation and **30** cases of multiple affixation). For the purposes of describing the position of the insert between base and affix, the analysis uses a collective term of prefixation (subsuming both prefixation and multiple affixation), since all 30 cases of multiple affixation simultaneously contained some kind of prefix and suffix. As far suffixation is concerned, the insert occurs between the base and suffix only very rarely. When it does so, the reason behind it is the suffix type; it involves suffixes that cause prosodic alternations and attract stress (*-ese*, *-ation*, *-eer*, *-ic*) and therefore the focus can be shifted to these suffixes in particular. Table 10 below lists the derivatives, group (1), divided into prefixation subgroup (1a) and suffixation subgroup (1b), and the distribution of insert positions in them.

⁹ Group 3 subsumes three categories presented by McMillan (1980:164): inserts occurring (1) inside morphemes (2) inside letter and number words (3) inside proper names.

Word formation process	Number of cases with insert on the affix-base boundary	Number of cases with insert position based on prosody	Total number of cases in the sample
Prefixation (pre + multi)	33	13	46
Suffixation	2	32	34
Total	35	45	80
Per cent	41.1	58.8	100.0

Table 10: Derivational formations in the sample and the position of the insert: affix-base boundary position and position based on prosody.

Prefixation subgroup (1a)

Before counting inserts that lodge between the prefix and the base, it is first necessary to acknowledge two types of prefixed bases. First of all, there are derivatives that bear (some degree of stress) on the first syllable of the base (i.e. directly after the prefix, i.e. *out bloody side*, *meta-fuckin'-physical*). Strictly speaking, derivatives of this type represent a single insert position (prefix-insert-base-suffix). This group is referred to as **Type 1 derivatives**. Second, there are derivatives which are made up of a prefix and a base beginning with an unstressed syllable (i.e. *unfuckingbelieavble*, *post-fucking-impressionists*). In such cases the insert has two possible positions: the expletive may be inserted either directly after the prefix (*unfuckingbelievable*) or before the main stress of the base (*un-be-fucking-lievable*). This group is called **Type 2 derivatives** in the following text. Table 11 and Diagram 8 below describe the representation of Type 1 and Type 2 derivatives in the sample.

Derivative type:	Sample items	Per cent
Type 1 derivatives	25	56.5
Type 2 derivatives	21	43.5
Total	46	100.0

Table 11: The ratio of Type 1 to Type 2 derivatives

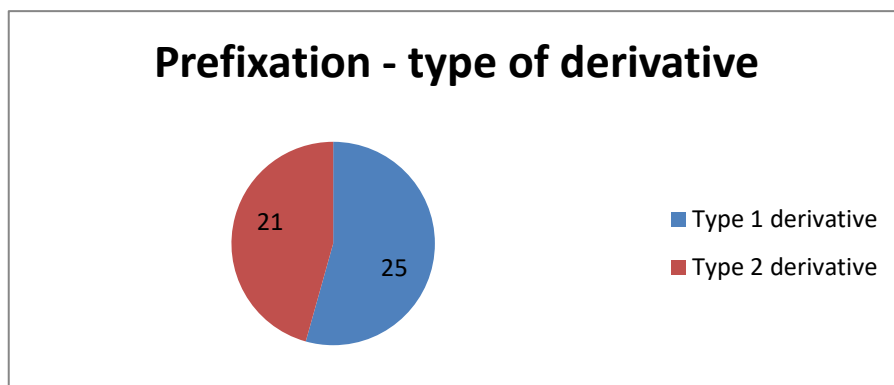


Diagram 8: The ratio of Type 1 to Type 2 derivatives

Concerning the **Type 1 derivatives**, the insert is placed between prefix and base in all 25 cases (100 per cent) and the group is illustrated by examples such as *dis-damn-membered*, *imfuckingpossible*, *un-fucking-real*, etc. However, in the **Type 2 derivatives** the distribution of insert position exhibits a different trend, as Table 12 below shows:

Insert position among Type 2 derivatives	Sample items	Per cent
Between prefix and base	8	38.1
Elsewhere (inside prefix, inside morpheme)	13	61.9
Total	21	100.0

Table 12: The distribution of the position of the insert among Type 2 derivatives

The table indicates that only in 8 cases (38.1 per cent), the insert occurs between the prefix and the base (*post-fucking-impressionists*, *un-frigging-believable*, *confuckinggratulations*, *un-fucking professional*, *unfuckingbelievable*, *in-goddamn-consistent*, *unstinkinbelievable*, *imma-bloody-material*). The position between prefix and the unstressed syllable of the base is by Bauer (2015: 123) referred to as “morphologically motivated insertion,” since it does not disrupt the structure of the word (but does not follow the principle of prosody). The remainder of the items (13 formations, 61.9 per cent) then display “prosodically motivated insertion” (p. 124) and have the insert elsewhere, before a stressed syllable. The insert occurs before a stressed syllable inside the base in 12 cases (i.e. *indegoddamnpendent*, *self-de-fucking-fence*, *congratu-motherfucking-lations*, *incon-fucking-siderate*, *disa-fucking-greeable*, *transconti-bloody-nental*). In a **single case**, the insert comes before a stressed syllable inside what is, at least etymologically, a prefix

(*su-fucking-perlative*). This case can be considered as quite unique since the part *super-* is relatively long and its second syllable bears stress. Nonetheless, all 13 cases demonstrate **prosodic motivation** and they are examined in detail in chapter 4.3.3.

To conclude, with prefixation the insert occurs between prefix and base in a total of **33 cases**, 25 items of Type 1 derivatives and 8 items of Type 2 derivatives. These instances display morphological motivation since they do not disrupt the morphological structure of the word. In **13 cases** the insert occurs before a stressed syllable but not between base morphemes and thus disrupt the morphemic structure; they are prosodically motivated. The behavior of two items is particularly worth noticing, morphologically motivated *un-fucking-sat* and *imma-bloody-material*. The first item represents a clipped version of *un-fucking-satisfactory*¹⁰, which belongs to Type 2 derivatives since it bears stress on the third syllable of the base. Clipping of the base effectively eliminated the second position of expletive insertion (*unsatis-fucking-factory*¹¹). The second item represents a reduplication of the unstressed base syllable *ma*, probably in order to facilitate pronunciation of the expletively inserted base. It also represents a rare case of reduplication (of part of the base), which is according to Mattiello (2013: 189) very rare in expletive insertion as opposed to its regularity in *ma*-infixation and *diddly*-infixation.

Suffixation group (1b)

Suffixes (as morphemes) represent a rather unproductive class in terms of having the insert at the morpheme boundary (i.e. base-suffix boundary) for the following reasons: first, suffixes are connected to the end of bases, while expletive insertion tends to happen on the right side or in the middle of the word, simply due to the fact that it is (as was established in the theoretical part) primarily governed by prosody; and second, suffixes are generally unstressed morphemes. Chapter 4.1.2.2. distinguishes between suffixed (only) derivatives (**34**) and derivatives that undergo multiple affixation (**30**). This kind of distribution disregarded those instances of suffixed bases inside multiple affixation derivatives, all of which as a matter of fact contained prefixes (*un-fucking-sociable*, *unfuckingspeakable*). Nevertheless, the position of the insert inside multiple affixations has been determined above. It has been concluded that among these there was no instance of positioning the insert between base and suffix. Consider Table 13

¹⁰According McMillan (1980: 180) it is a case of US Navy jargon for unsatisfactory.

¹¹ Expletive insertions of this type are relevant (existing) as according to Google search (3 Jan 2019).

below which gives the total of suffix-base insert positions (without disrupting the morpheme boundary)

Position	Sample items	Per cent
Suffixed derivatives with insert between base and suffix	2	5.8
Suffixed derivatives with insert before a stressed syllable	32	94.2
Total	34	100

Table 13: The distribution of suffixed derivatives with inserts on the base-suffix boundary and those with inserts before a stressed syllable

Table 13 shows that in the case of suffixed derivatives the morpheme boundary was maintained in only two instances (5.8 per cent): *fluctu-fucking-ation* and *wonder-fucking-ful*. In the case of *fluctu-fucking-ation* the suffix *-tion* (the verb *fluctuate* ends in [t]) behaves as the suffix *-ation* and in this sense it is separated by the insert. The position of the insert can be attributed to the behavior of suffix *-(at)ion* (and other suffixes like *-ese*, *-eer*, *-ee*) which usually carry or shift the stress (Plag, 2003: 101). The adjective *wonder-fucking-ful* applies expletive insertion before the final syllable as well. The case here is, then arguably possible due to the pronunciation of the suffix (one syllable) as opposed to the case of *bea-fucking-utiful*, where the suffix is pronounced as a weak syllable (bearing no stress). Interestingly enough, Google search (4 Jan 2019) shows 501 results for construction *beautifuckingful*, which, then presupposes full pronunciation of the final syllable (or else it would be considered deviant). The sample furthermore contains 4 items of the suffix *-ee* (*guaran-damn-tee*, *guaranfriggingtee*, *guaran-fuckin-tee*, *guaran-goddamn-tee*) where the insert appears before the suffix, however it always connects with the previous consonant “t”. Analogical behavior can be observed with 1 instance of the suffix *-ation* (*obli-goddamn-gation*), 1 instance of the suffix *-ese* (*Chi-bloody-nese*) and finally with 1 instance of the suffix *-eer* (*muskefuckingteers*). It can be concluded that even though these suffixes have stress carrying potential, the stress usually falls on the previous consonant (i.e. stress does not ordinarily fall on the vowel) therefore the morphemic structure is disrupted and the motivation is strictly prosodic. Prosodic motivation is present in the remainder of the 23 items of suffixed derivatives which place the insert before a syllable bearing some degree of stress (*lia-fucking-bility*, *mon fucking-strosity*, *hufuckingmongous*, *absobloomin'lutely*, *abso-bleedinglutely*, *abso-blessed-lutely*).

4.3.1.2. Inserts placed between two compound bases

Compounds, group (2), are sometimes referred to as cases of genuine tmesis (McMillan, 1980: 16) since they, as a rule, have the insert between two bases that are capable of standing alone. Independence of the base is questionable in the case of reduplicatives and neoclassical compounds which have, nonetheless, been placed under compounds as well. Table 13 below presents both compounds that have the insert between their two bases and those in which the expletive is placed elsewhere.

The position of the insert inside a compound	Sample items	Per cent
Between two bases	63	100.0
Elsewhere (prosody)	0	0.0
Total	63	100.0

Table 14: The positioning of the expletive insert inside compound bases

The table shows that the position of inserts in compounds is a completely one-sided matter, which only supports the claim that in terms of insert placement, compounds represent rather uncomplicated constructions. It follows that both simple two-syllable compounds (*butt-fucking-ugly*, *bull-fucking-shit*, *dimfuckingwit*, *boo-fuckin'-hoo*, *chop-fuckin'-chop*, *him-fucking-self*, *any-fucking-thing*, *anyfuckinwhere*, *brand-fucking-new*) and complex three/four/five/six-syllable compounds (*some-goddamn-body*, *to-fucking-gether*, *everydamnwhere*, *jitter-fucking-bugging*, *everygoddamnbody*, *kinder-goddamn-garten*, *crypto-motherfucking-currency*, *theojollylogical*, *Serbo-bloody-Croatian*, *Psycho-fucking-analyst*, *hort-er-fucking-culturalist*, *megalo-bloodymaniac*) always have the insert between the two bases, irrespective of whether they belong to regular, reduplicative or neoclassical compounds.

Since derivatives and compounds represent the only word-formations that have defined morphological structures among the sample items, it is now possible to present the total amount of bases that have the insert either between prefix and base or between two bases. The figures are display in Table 15 below:

Type of base	Insert position between two morphemes (morphological motivation)	Insert position elsewhere (prosodic motivation)	No.	Total Per cent
Derivative	35	45	80	55.9
Compound	63	0	63	44.1
Total	98 68.5	45 31.5	143	100.0

Table 15: Total distribution of insert positions in complex bases: derivatives and compounds

Table 15 shows that in total, expletive inserts occur between two morphemes in **98** cases (68.5 per cent), their position being due to morphological motivation. The remaining **45** cases (31.5 per cent) which represent prosodic motivation are all derivatives: **13** cases of prosodically motivated prefixed derivatives insertions and **32** cases of suffixed derivatives, where the morpheme (suffix) proved to have almost no impact on preserving the morpheme structure intact. We may conclude that morphological motivation among complex-base formations clearly prevails by more than a half and that prosodic motivation for insert placement appears only in derivatives and never among compounds in the sample.

4.3.1.3. Inserts in words without a clear morphological structure

Group (3), words without a clear morphological structure (or one-base words) are represented by the remaining group of **62** instances, which consists of the following three types of words: proper names; simple lexical words; numeral and letter words (lumped together). Table 16 below shows their representation in the sample:

Type of base	Sample items	Per cent
Proper name	33	53.2
Numeral and letter word	15	24.2
Simple word	14	22.6
Total	62	100.0

Table 16: The representation of words without a clear morphological structure

(a) Proper names

Proper names with 33 instances (53.2 per cent) represent more than a half of all words without a clear morphological structure. There are **eighteen** items, namely first names (*FER-FUCKING-NANDO*, *Gali-fucking-leo*, *Cinder-fuckin'-rella*), second names (*Nostra-fucking-damus*, *Fitti-fucking-paldi*), brand names (*Rux-fucking-pin*) and geographical names (*Su-fuckin'-matra*, *Viet-fucking-nam*) that have the expletive insert before a syllable with some kind of stress, i.e. inside the base. An anomaly in the placement of the insert before a stressed syllable can be observed in one single instance, *'Malaga > Mala-bloody-ga*, where it is placed before the reduced final syllable [gə]. To meet the criteria for expletive insertion, the final syllable would need to be pronounced as full. Otherwise, the construction is considered deviant from the regular pattern (cf. *Kat-Man-Fucking-Du* vs. **Mala-bloody-ga*). The sample item *Mala-bloody-ga* could be compared to constructions such as **fanta-fucking-stic*, which McCarthy (1982: 575) considers “ungrammatical” and highly improbable to occur. Furthermore, there are two special items that deserve attention. First, there is a clever (and obscene) kind of word-play on the word *Buckingham* resulting in *Butt-Fucking-ham*. What happens is that the expletive *fucking* substitutes for the *-ing-* part in *Buckingham*. The first syllable of the word is modified as well and a derogatory effect is achieved. Second, the proper name *Cinder-fuckin'-rella* contains the doubling of the consonant “r” in order to facilitate pronunciation (*Cinderella* allegedly derives from a girl name Ella, short for Elizabeth).

A different tendency in positioning the insert inside the words can be observed with **fourteen** proper names that are (diachronically speaking) lexicalized and synchronically mostly opaque compounds. Here insert placement is guided by the base-base rule we have seen above and the insert is without exception positioned at the base boundary in all cases, as in *Mon-fucking-day*, *Tuesfuckingday*, *Wednesfuckingday*, *Thursfuckingday*, *Fri fucking day*, *Saturfuckingday*, *Sun"fuckin"day*, *Liverfuckingpool*, *Birminfuckingham*, *Birmingfuckingham*, *Aberfuckingdeen*, *Aber-bloody-deen*, *Man-fucking-chester*. Moreover, there is a kind of grey area in insert placement motivation with days of the week, since they represent proper names that have become lexicalized a long time (as signaled by the reduced pronunciation of *day* as [-di]). Thus, when expletively inserted the word *day* has to be always pronounced fully (otherwise the construction would be regarded as “ungrammatical”). In short, although lexicalized these proper

names behave as compounds and as such could be arguably placed in group (2). Table 17 below summarizes the distribution of positions of the insert inside proper names:

The position of the insert	Sample items	Per cent
Before stressed syllable (inside morpheme)	18	54.5
Between bases of non-productive compounds	14	42.5
Before unstressed syllable	1	3.0
Total	33	100.0

Table 17: The distribution of insert positions in proper names

In conclusion, the **14 proper names** (lexicalized compounds) showed similar behavior in insert placement as ordinary compounds and therefore the insert placement is considered to be morphologically motivated. Insert placement in remaining 18 proper names shows clear signs of prosodic motivation. Finally, there is a single instance, where the construction represents a case of ungrammatical or deviant expletive insertion.

(b) Numeral and letter words

Numeral and letter words represent almost one-quarter of all simple words within the sample (15 instances, 24.2 per cent). There are 5 cases of numeral words which place the insert in the middle of the expression both in their digit and written form (*19-fuckin'-43*, *19-fucking-70*, *nineteen-fucking-eighty*, *eighty-fucking-two*, *three-goddamn-thirty*). A certain regularity in insert placement can be observed in initialisms. In the case of three-letter initialisms, the insert tends to come before the letter which stands for a noun, as in *R.I fucking.P.* (Rest in peace), *P.O.fuckingW.* (prisoner of war) *I-A-fucking-D* (Internal Affairs Division) and *F-fuckin-BI.* (Federal Bureau of Investigation). There is one instance of four-letter initialism, where the insert comes in the middle (a similar pattern of insertion placement as with numeral words above), *D-K-fucking-N-Y* (DKNY stands for a Donna Karan New York-based fashion house). In the case of two-letter initialisms (pronounced as two syllables), the insert has, logically, a single insert position – in the middle (*C-fucking-4*, *C bloody one*, *O-for-God's-sake-K*). A curious case is the use of an initialism as an acronym (*A-FUCKING-SAP*), where the insert comes before the main

stress syllable since it is pronounced as a word, with stress on the second syllable. Last but not least, there is a kind of wordplay in *B-Bloody-C* formed from the BBC, which blends the second B with the expletive insert. As a matter of fact, this item, in particular, has been discussed by Mattiello (2013: 189), who comments on it as follows “the infix replaces the internal B of BBC, acting as a splinter in an interlative blend.”

In conclusion, numeral and letter words represent rather curious cases in terms of expletive insertion. Nonetheless, since initialisms and numeral words, in fact, stand for whole phrases and they display regularities in insert placement (before a noun), the morphological motivation is observed in all of the **14 cases**. Only the isolated instance of the acronym *A-FUCKING-SAP*, represents prosodic motivation.

(c) Simple words

The category of simple words contains 14 examples and represents the remaining 22.6 per cent of the bases without clear morphological structure. In 12 cases the insert always occurs before a syllable with some degree of stress (*Propafuckingganda*, *Derri-fucking-aire*, *kangabloodyroo*, *um-bloody-brella*, *a-bloody-men*). In two cases, the insert does not appear before a stressed syllable: *abrafuckincadabra* has the insert placed before the reduced vowel [kə]. Nevertheless, since we are dealing here with a foreign expression (Latin from Greek), the insert apparently (327 Google hits) allows for this kind of placement (if pronounced fully). The other, “regular” variant *abraca-fucking-dabra* was attested in 331 hits by Google search (5 Jan 2019). Last but not least, there is the word *enor-fucking-mous* (diachronically a derivative with the suffix *-ous*, but no longer viewed as such), where the insert comes before an unstressed syllable and unless pronounced as a full syllable it should be regarded as an ungrammatical construction. Google search (5 Jan 2019) attested to the possibility of the regular variant *e-fucking-normous*.

Insert placement in the 12 simple words happens inside the base before a syllable with some degree of stress, in two cases, the insert is placed before the unstressed syllable (*enor-fucking-mous*, *abra-fucking-cadabra*), which means that the formations depart from the prevalent pattern.

4.3.2. Overview of morphologically and prosodically motivated expletive insertions

Following the analysis of the insert positions in the total of 205 sample items, it is possible to compare the number of inserted bases where the word-structure remains intact (morphologically motivated insertion) and the number of bases where prosodically motivated insertion took place (i.e. those constructions that violate the principle of uninterruptibility of the word). The findings are presented Tables 18 and 19 and Diagram 9 below:

Type of base/word- formation	Sample items	Per cent
Compounds	63	50.0
Prefixations	33	26.2
Proper names (lexicalized compounds)	14	11.2
Numeral and letter words	14	11.2
Suffixations	2	1.4
Total	126	100.0

Table 18: Total distribution of morphologically motivated insertions

Table 18 shows that compounds (63; 50.0 per cent) are the largest group of morphologically motivated insertions. Second, comes a large group of prefixed bases (33; 26.2 per cent). The relatively high number of proper names (14; 11.2 per cent) consists of lexicalized (opaque) compounds. Grammatically motivated insertions were likewise observed in numeral and letter nouns (14; 11.2 per cent) and to a minimal degree also in suffixations (2; 1.4 per cent)

Type of base/ word- formation	Sample items	Per cent
Suffixations	32	42.1
Proper names	18	23.7
Prefixations	13	17.1
Simple words	12	15.8
Numeral and letter words	1	1.3
Total	76	100

Table 19: Total distribution of prosodically motivated insertions

Table 19 shows that suffixed bases (32; 42.1 per cent) represent the group with the highest amount of prosodically motivated insertions. Insertion in proper names (18; 23.7 per cent) and simple words (12; 15.8 per cent) apparently has prosodic motivation due to their unclear morphological structures. Prefixed bases display a high degree of prosodically motivated insert placement with the type of derivatives that bear stress on the second syllable of the base. A single instance of a letter word with prosodically motivated insertion is represented by an initialism used as an acronym.

Finally, there are 3 instances of expletive insertion before a reduced vowel (*abrafuckingcadabra*, *Mala-bloody-ga. enor-fucking-mous*). It is safe to say that a certain degree of deviation from the usual patterns of insertion placement is not a great problem with the first two items (they represent rather uncommon vocabulary), however, the third item represents a highly unusual use of expletive insert (cf. *efuckingnormous*).

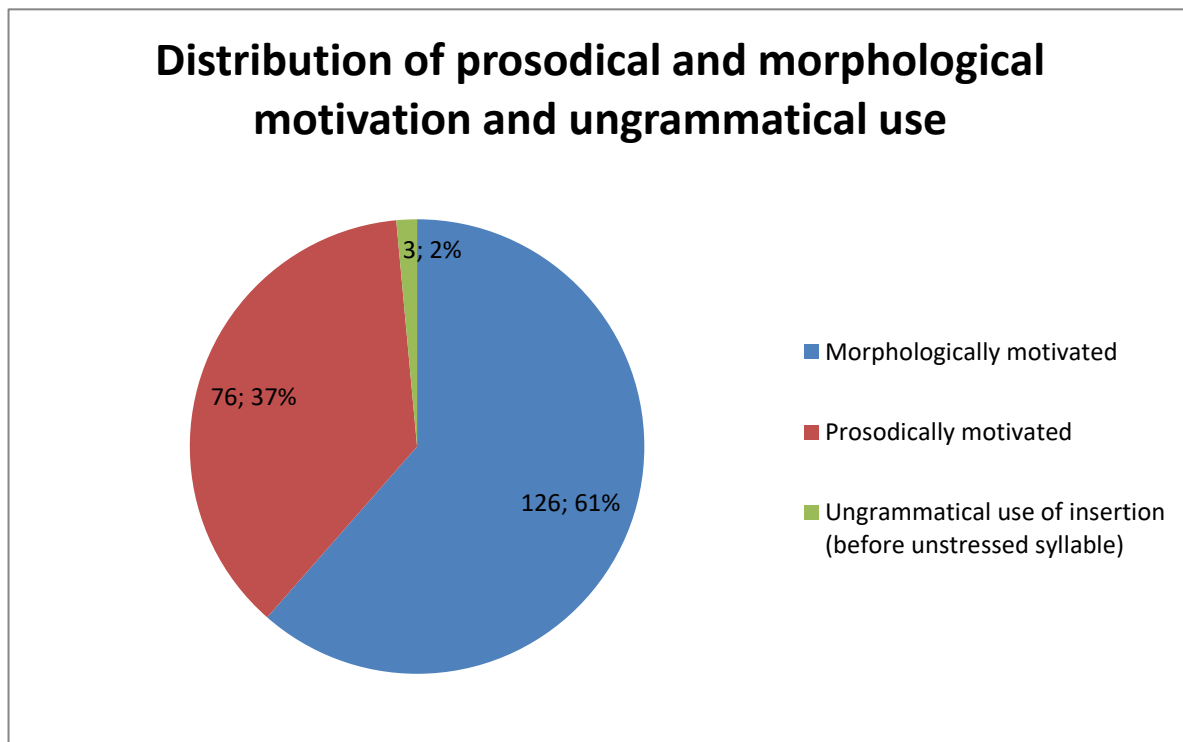


Diagram 9: Total distribution of prosodically and morphologically motivated and ungrammatical uses of insertion in the sample

The diagram shows that in 126 cases (61.0 per cent) expletive insertion has preserved the morphological structure and placed the insert between two morphemes, while in 76 cases (37.0

per cent) the principle of uninterruptibility of the word has been violated and the insert is inside the one-morpheme base and before a stressed syllable. In 3 cases (2 per cent) the expletive insertion departs from the usual pattern.

4.3.3. Bases that allow for more than one insert positions

The type of bases that allows for multiple insert positions proved to be the type of prefixed bases that bear (some degree of) stress on the second syllable of the base, i.e. the first base syllable is unstressed. The sample includes 12 instances where the insert is placed before the second syllable of the base (*indegoddamnpendent*, *inde-bloody-pendent*, *self-de-fucking-fence*, *Congratu-motherfucking-lations*, *incon-fucking-siderate*, *disa-fucking-greeable*, *transconti-bloody-nental*, *incanfuckingdescent*, *irrefucking-sponsible*, *confronfuckingtation*, *un-be-fucking-lievable*, *inconfuckinspicious*), **one** instance where the expletive insert is placed before a stressed syllable inside the prefix (*su-fucking-perlative*) and 8 instances where the insert occurs before the first, unstressed syllable (*un-fucking professional*, *post-fucking-impressionists*, *un-frigging-believable*, *Unstinkinbelievable*, *in-goddamn-consistent*, *Confuckinggratulations*, *unfuckingbelievable*, *imma-bloody-material*). In conclusion, bases that allow for more than one insert position tend to have a higher degree of prosodic motivation (62 per cent) than morphological motivation (38 per cent). Consider the diagram below:

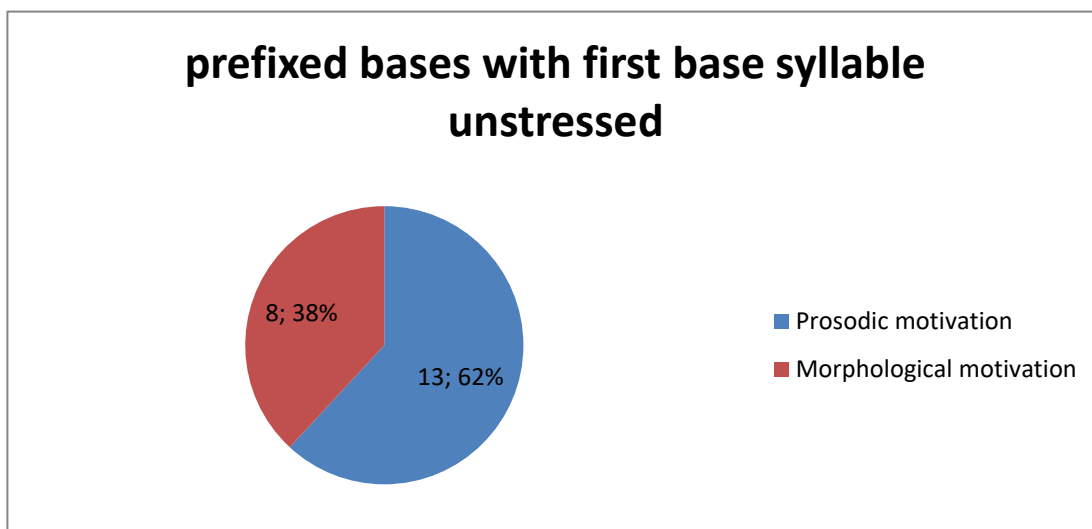


Diagram 10: The morphological motivation vs. prosodical motivation of expletive insertion in prefixed bases with first base syllable unstressed

5. Conclusion

To conclude, it is convenient to begin with several new findings that the thesis brought. Concerning the inserted elements, it contributed 8 additions to the list of inserts reported in the literature: *effing, freaking, frigging, shitting, stinking, sodding, pigging, pissing*, all of which are actively used. The range of the word-classes that according to the literature allow for expletive insertion was broadened as well. I managed to find cases of an expletively inserted determiner, conjunction, and preposition, i.e. word-classes that have not been mentioned in connection with expletive insertion so far. Finally, the analysis has yielded three instances of expletive insertion before an unstressed syllable, which a position which departs from the standard patterns and is normally regarded as “ungrammatical”. The fact that only three examples of this kind were found, on the other hand, shows that expletive insertion follows the rules very closely.

The results of sample analysis revealed certain tendencies in the categories of bases that allow for expletive insertion. The most common types of base are nouns and adjectives (almost 66 per cent), adverbs and interjections (exclamations) are less than half as frequent (22.9 per cent) and the other word classes are marginal. One type of base which appears to be highly popular and widely used with expletive insertion are proper names of all sorts (first/second personal names, geographical names, etc.). They form almost half of all nouns (about 40 per cent), which means that common nouns and proper names are almost equally represented. Finally, there is one more type of base, interjections (almost 12 per cent of the total), which is a suitable candidate for further emotive amplification. Concerning word structure, more than 70 per cent of the sample bases are complex words made up of two or more morphemes, while simplex words (with the exception of proper names and numeral or letter words) occur very rarely. Furthermore, complex bases are, in almost equal proportion, formed by compounds (typically endocentric and typographically solid) and slightly more often by derivatives (more frequently suffixed or prefixed-suffixed than only prefixed). Many bases can be arranged into semantic groups (clusters) possibly due to the mechanism of analogy (a successfully inserted word of a certain type creates a pattern for similar words). The sample contains four large semantic clusters of bases (negatively and positively evaluative words, proper names and exclamations, each with subgroups). The bases include in equal proportion two-syllable, three-syllable and four-syllable

words (five- and six-syllable words were in minority). It means that more than two thirds of the bases have more than three syllables and only one third of them are disyllabic words.

Concerning inserts, the sample featured 23 inserts, most of which are disyllabic and adjectival (mostly deverbal adjectives). Following McMillan's classification, the inserts in the sample are divided into three categories: expletives (swear words), euphemisms (replacing swear-words) and neutral terms (e.g. colloquial intensifiers). Although expletives are represented only by six 6 items, they represent the most frequent type of insert, accounting for 89.3 per cent of expletive insertion in the sample.

Analysis of the insert position in the sample has shown that inserts are most frequently placed on the morpheme boundary (61 per cent), while compounds follow this pattern without exception: all of them have the insert on the base-base boundary. Prefixed bases allow for two insert positions, however only in those cases where the prefixed base has the first syllable unstressed. Consequently, they maintained their morpheme boundary in 71.7 per cent of cases, while in 28.3 cases they displayed prosodical motivation. Suffixed bases, on the other hand, show a high tendency to place the expletive insert inside the morpheme (94.2 per cent). The analysis confirmed that the most important factors determining the position of the insert are stress and word structure. The analysis has also shown that in the whole sample the word structure of bases is preserved in 126 cases (61.0 per cent). Finally, there were three cases (2 per cent) of "ungrammatical" use of the phenomenon, deviating from the prevailing patterns. The use of social media by hundreds of million people on a daily basis not only results in greater use of expletive insertion and may also contribute to the existence of ungrammatical use (Instagram, Facebook, Reddit etc.).

On the whole, the analysis both confirmed the findings of the previous studies and brought some new findings. Generally, expletive insertion seems to be on the increase rather than decrease and definitely merits further study, since it seems to display features previously unnoticed or not commented upon (the wider range of word classes in bases, the wider range of inserted items and ungrammatical use).

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Résumé

Předkládaná diplomová práce zkoumá chování „expresivních přívlastkových expletiv“ (Dušková et al, 2006: 487) v komplexních slovech. Během analýzy se však ukázalo, že v angličtině expletiva vstupují i do simplexních slov. Jedná se o jazykový jev, který není v současné době zcela prozkoumán, nicméně výsledky analýzy potvrdily, že jeho užití se zdá být spíše na vzestupu než naopak. Je lze ilustrovat konstrukcí *imfuckingpossible*, v níž je přídavné jméno *fucking* vloženo mezi prefix a bázi odvozeného slova s negativním prefixem. Jedná se tedy o jev, který narušuje integritu slova, a to ať už oddělením morfémů nebo i štěpením morfému (*kangabloodyroo*). Výzkum je proveden na základě 205 dokladů, které byly shromážděny z různých zdrojů (korpusy, odborná literatura na dané téma, Internet, filmové scénáře, sociální média) a které dohromady vytvářejí značně heterogenní vzorek. Práce sleduje dva cíle. Nejprve zkoumá teoretický status tohoto slovotvorného procesu, jak je popisován v sekundární literatuře, jeho klasifikace a pravidelnosti či nepravidelnosti, jimiž disponuje. Dále seznamuje s pravidly umístování expletiv vzhledem k dvěma klíčovými faktorům: pozici přízvuku v bázi a charakteru struktury báze. Hlavním cílem práce je pak prozkoumat a popsat slovotvorný potenciál tohoto jevu na základě analýzy výzkumného vzorku.

Práce je rozdělena do pěti kapitol. První, úvodní kapitola nastiňuje základní poznatky o vkládání expletiv do slov a vymezuje cíle a záměry práce.

Druhou kapitolu tvoří teoretická část, která se dělí do pěti podkapitol. První podkapitola představuje stručný přehled vývoje poznávání expletivního vkládání ve studiích za poslední čtyři desetiletí. Je v nich možné pozorovat posun a vývoj od prvotních pokusů o vymezení tohoto jevu a stanovení definic jevu až po současné tendence o zařazení a vyhodnocení tohoto slovotvorného prostředku z hlediska gramatického systému angličtiny. Studie se obecně shodují na podřízenosti procesu vkládání suprasegmentálním jevům (v závislosti na slabičném a metrické struktuře slova) a jeho funkci jakožto emotivního amplifikátoru. Druhá podkapitola popisuje rozdíl mezi vkládáním expresivních expletiv (expletive insertion) a gramatickou infixací, vkládáním vpony (derivative infixation). Dále pak shrnuje názory autorů na okolnosti ovlivňující prosodická omezení, kterým vkládání expletiv podléhá, jako jsou (1) pozice před přízvuknou slabikou a (2) pozice mezi dvěma stopami (metrical feet), nikdy ne uvnitř stopy. Následuje popis dělení insertů (expletiva,

eufemismy, neutrální výrazy) a jejich pozic z hlediska struktury bází (uvnitř morfémů; mezi affixem a bází; mezi bázemi uvnitř složenin; uvnitř zkratk a čísel, a uvnitř vlastních jmen) uváděný v literatuře. Pro srovnání jsou v podkapitole rovněž představeny lexikální vponové procesy, které se v angličtině okrajově vyskytují (*-ma-* infixation, *-diddly-* infixation, *-iz-* infixation) a dále jsou zde probírány terminologické alternativy, které se spolu s termínem *expletive insertion* v literatuře objevují. Třetí podkapitola podrobně zkoumá gramatický status fenoménu a představuje jeho pojetí v derivační morfologii (Dressler a Merlini Barbaresi, 1994), expresivní morfologii (Zwicky a Pullum, 1987) a prosodické morfologii (Plag, 2003). Čtvrtá podkapitola podává přehled o pojetí expletivního vkládání v současných autoritativních mluvnicích a učebnicích angličtiny. Pátá a poslední podkapitola teoretické části shrnuje dosavadní poznatky o jednotlivých rysech a (ne)pravidelnostech, které tento jev vykazuje. Mezi nejdůležitější patří zachování (1) syntaktické kategorie a (2) významu vstupních bází, (3) rozmanitost slovnědruhových kategorií vstupních bází, (4) přerušení morfologické struktury báze vložením expletiva (v rozporu s všeobecně přijímanou tezí o nepřerušitelnosti slova) a tudíž i (5) nemorfemická analýza. Mezi pravidelné, prediktabilní jevy spojované s expletivním vkládáním patří (1) předvídatelnost pozice expletiva, (2) rozšíření výstupní (zasažené) báze, a (3) víceslabičnost vstupní báze. Tyto rysy (Mattiello, 2013) představují hlavní stavební kameny pro následnou analýzu vzorku.

Třetí kapitolou je Metodologická část, která popisuje jednak metodu získávání vzorku vkládaných neologismů, tak metodu pro extrakci samotných bází, u kterých může docházet k vložení expletiva. Seznam insertů byl převzat z článku McMillan (1980), kterému se jich podařilo nashromáždit 23. Nicméně tento seznam byl podroben dalšímu zkoumání a rozšíření o dalších 8 potencionálních insertů zejména pomocí publikace *The Slang Thesaurus* (Green 1988), kde v sekci „cursing and profanities“ byly manuálně vybrána další přívlastková expletiva. Celkem bylo nashromážděno 31 insertů. Co se týče dokladů, při jejich vyhledávání byly použity tři rozdílné zdroje a také internetový vyhledávač Google. Prvním zdroj představují korpusy BNC (národní korpus britské angličtiny) a COCA (korpus současné americké angličtiny), které byly prohledány pomocí dotazů (*+.expletívum.+* pro BNC a **expletívum** pro COCA). Korpusy se nicméně ukázaly být nepříliš vydatnými zdroji, neboť pro vzorek přinesly pouhých 36 dokladů. Muselo se tedy přistoupit ke shromažďování autentických dokladů ze sekundární literatury, která představuje druhý zdroj. McMillanova práce (1980) poskytla 75 dokladů a Bauerova učebnice

(1983) dalších 8. Poslední zdroj je diplomová práce Nevalainenové (2015), *Expletive Infixation in Movie Scripts from the 1980s to Present Day and the Build of the Corpus of Movie Scripts* která přinesla 57 dokladů z filmových scénářů. Pro to, aby byl vzorek dostatečně velký, byl v neposlední řadě využit Internet, z něhož bylo pomocí Google vyhledavače vytěženo zbylých 29 dokladů. Tato metoda extrakce ukázala velkou oblibu expletivního vkládání na sociálních sítích a fórech (Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, Reddit atd.). Celkem bylo nashromážděno 205 různých dokladů.

Čtvrtá kapitola představuje vlastní analytickou část, která se dělí na 3 dílčí podkapitoly, z nichž se každá věnuje jednomu okruhu: (1) analýza bází (2) analýza expletivních insertů a (3) analýza pozice insertu. Analýza bází se soustřeďuje na slovnědruhovou příslušnost bází a ukazuje, že adjektiva a substantiva tvoří téměř dvě třetiny dokladů (65,4 %), zatímco adverbia jenom 11 %, zájmena 6,9 % a slovesa pouhých 4,9 %. Cítoslovce, zkratky a číslice pak dohromady tvoří zbylých 18,6 %. U sloves, adverbii a cítoslovci se ukázalo, že se často vyskytují samostatně, tj. fungují jako krátké věty (ať už oznamovacího či rozkazovacího typu). Dále byla prozkoumána formální struktura bází. Výsledky ukázaly, že více jak dvě třetiny dokladů tvoří komplexní slova (složeniny a derivace) a jednu třetinu tvoří simplexní slova (monomorfénní slova a dále vlastní jména, zkratky a číslice s nejasnou morfemickou skladbou). Dále se ukázalo, že mezi bázemi existují jisté sémantické vazby a je možné je rozdělit do skupin (např. negativně hodnotící slova a pozitivně hodnotící slova, vlastní jména osobní, geografická apod.). Nakonec byly báze zkoumány z hlediska počtu slabik vzhledem k tomu, že délka slova hraje roli v jeho užití jako báze při expletivním vkládání. Ukázalo se, že dvoj-, troj- a čtyřslabičné báze mají ve vzorku podobné zastoupení a dohromady tvoří více jak 88 % všech bází. Pěti- a šestislabičná slova představují minimální podíl. Průměrná délka báze ve vzorku činí 3,2 slabiky. Analýza expletivních insertů se soustřeďuje na zastoupení jednotlivých insertů ve vzorku a ukazuje, že adjektivum *fucking* se vyskytuje ve více než 50 % všech bází. Dále se pak rozbor zabývá zastoupením sémantických kategorií insertů (vulgární expletiva, jejich eufemismy a neutrální výrazy), Prokázala, že dominují expletiva s 89,3 %, ačkoli početně tvoří nejmenší skupinu (6 insertů). Analýza pozice insertu si dala za cíl prozkoumat morfologickou a prosodickou motivaci vkládání insertu, tj. zda o jejich pozici rozhoduje struktura báze (preference umístění mezi dvěma morfémy) nebo postavení přízvuku. Ukázalo se, že pozice insertu je morfologicky řízena (tzn. preferována je pozice mezi morfémy, aby nedošlo k přerušení

morfémové struktury slova) ve více jak 61 % dokladů, zatímco prosodicky řízena v 37 % dokladů (tzn. umístění insertu se řídí přízvukem bez ohledu na morfémovou strukturu slova). Ve 2 % dokladů došlo k vložení insertu před konečnou (redukovanou) slabikou, což se v literatuře považuje za deviantní, negramatické umístění insertu (v rozporu s převažujícím územ). Analýza také odhalila ve vzorku existenci předponových derivací, které umožňují dvojí pozici insertu. Ukázalo se, že v případě tohoto typu derivací, kterých se ve vzorku vyskytlo 21, převládá prosodická motivace (62 %) oproti morfologické motivaci (38 %).

Pátá, závěrečná kapitola, shrnuje přínosy práce. Patří mezi ně rozšíření seznamu insertů o 8 položek, rozšíření počtu slovnědruhového zastoupení bází (determinátor, předložka, spojka), do kterých může expletivum vstupovat, přesnější charakteristika bází a insertů a ověření principů umísťování insertů. Poukazuje taktéž na velmi okrajový výskyt „negramatického“ použití jevu (vkládání expletiva před redukovanou slabikou), který zároveň podtrhuje fakt, že vkládání insertů se vesměs řídí obecně platnými pravidly. Práce přinesla následující důležitá zjištění: více než dvě třetiny bází (66 %) představují substantiva a adjetiva, více než 70 % bází tvoří komplexní slova, ve vzorku se vyskytlo 21 bází, které dovolují dvě pozice pro vstup expletiva. V celkovém zastoupení převládá morfologická motivace (61 %) nad prosodickou (37 %). Z výzkumu vyplynulo, že díky technologickým možnostem je snazší získávat nové doklady na expletivní vkládání a že tento proces je mluvčími využíván mnohem častěji, než se zdálo. Spolu s tím se rozšiřuje i okruh bází a insertů, které je možno kombinovat. To znamená, že výzkum expletivního vkládání zdaleka není u konce.

Appendix: A complete list of inserted formations

Nr.	Example	Pronunciation	syll	Insert	Word Class	WF process	Source
1.	dis-damn-creet	/dɪ'skri:t/	2	damn	ADJECTIVE	BORROWING	McMillan (1980)
2.	geogoddamngraphic	/dʒɪə'ɡrafɪk/	3	goddamn	ADJECTIVE	COMB. FORM	COCA
3.	multi-bloody-storey	/ˌmʌl.tɪ'stɔː.ri/	4	bloody	ADJECTIVE	COMB. FORM	BNC
4.	theojollylogical	/ˌθiː.ə'lɒdʒ.ɪ.kəl/	5	jolly	ADJECTIVE	COMB. FORM	(1980)
5.	brand-fucking-new	/'brʌnd'njuː/	2	fucking	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUNDING	COCA
6.	butt-fucking-ugly	hyphenated word	2	fucking	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUNDING	Nevalainen (2015)
7.	al-bleedin'-mighty	/ɔ:l'maɪ.ti/	3	bleedin'	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
8.	all-bloody-mighty	/ɔ:l'maɪ.ti/	3	bloody	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
9.	big-bloody-hearted	/'bɪɡ'hɑːtəd/	3	bloody	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUNDING	BNC
10.	bone flipping lazy	two words	3	flipping	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUNDING	Internet Google
11.	funny-damn-lookin'	hyphenated word	4	damn	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
12.	Mother-effing-fucking	/'mʌðəˌfʌkɪŋ/	4	effing	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUNDING	COCA
13.	Serbo-bloody-Croatian	hyphenated word	5	bloody	ADJECTIVE	COMPOUNDING	BNC
14.	un-fucking-real	/ʌn'riəl/	2	fucking	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
15.	un-fucking-sat (unsatisfactory)	/ˌʌnsætɪs'fækt(ə)ri/	2	fucking	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
16.	un-fucking-conscious	/ʌn'kɒn.ʃəs/	3	fucking	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
17.	im-bloody-possible	/ɪm'pɒs.ə.bəl/	4	bloody	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
18.	inde-bloody-pendent	/ˌɪn.dɪ'pen.dənt/	4	bloody	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
19.	incanfuckingdescent	/ˌɪn.kæn'des.ənt/	4	fucking	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	Bauer (1983)
20.	Imfuckingpossible	/ɪm'pɒs.ə.bəl/	4	fucking	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
21.	indegoddamnpendent	/ɪndɪ'pendənt/	4	goddamn	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	COCA
22.	transconti-bloody- nental	/ˌtrænˌskɒn.tɪ'nen.təl/	5	bloody	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
23.	irrefucking-sponsable	/ˌɪr.ɪ'spɒn.sə.bəl/	5	fucking	ADJECTIVE	PREFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
24.	out-goddamnedrageous	/ˌ(,)aʊt'reɪdʒəs/	3	goddamn ed	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	COCA

25.	out-fucking-rageous	/ (,)aʊt'reɪdʒəs/	3	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	COCA
26.	enor-fucking-mous	/ɪ'nə:məs/	3	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	COCA
27.	refuckinpugnant	/rɪ'pʌŋ.nənt/	3	fuckin	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	Nevalainen (2015)
28.	un-bloody-natural	/ʌn'nætʃ.ər.əl/	4	bloody	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	BNC
29.	un-frigging-believable	/,ʌn.bɪ'li:.və.bəl/	4	frigging	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	COCA
30.	meta-fuckin'-physical	/,met.ə'fɪz.ɪ.kəl/	4	fuckin'	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	Nevalainen (2015)
31.	de-fucking-plorable	/dɪ'plɔ:.rə.bəl/	4	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	Nevalainen (2015)
32.	unfuckingleivable	/,ʌn.bɪ'li:.və.bəl/	4	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	Nevalainen (2015)
33.	un-fucking-sociable	/ʌn'səʊ.ʃə.bəl/	4	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	McMillan (1980)
34.	unfuckingspeakable	/ʌn'spi:.kə.bəl/	4	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	IMSDb
35.	inde- goddamn'pendent	/,ɪn.dɪ'pen.dənt/	4	goddamn	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	McMillan (1980)
36.	in-goddamn-consistent	/,ɪn.kən'sɪs.tənt/	4	goddamn	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	McMillan (1980)
37.	imma-bloody-material	/,ɪm.ə'tɪə.ri.əl/	5	bloody	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	McMillan (1980)
38.	disa-fucking-greeable	/,dɪs.ə'gri:.ə.bəl/	5	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	McMillan (1980)
39.	incon-fucking-siderate	/ɪnkən'sɪdəreɪt/	5	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	COCA
40.	inconfuckinspicious	/,ɪn.kən'spi:k.ju.əs/	5	fuckin	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	Nevalainen (2015)
41.	un-fucking professional	/,ʌn.prə'feʃ.ən.əl/	5	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	Nevalainen (2015)
42.	un-be-fucking-lievable	/,ʌn.bɪ'li:.və.bəl/	5	fucking	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	Nevalainen (2015)
43.	Unstinkinbelievable	/bɪ'li:.və.bəl/	5	stinkin	ADJECTIVE	MULT. AFFIX.	Nevalainen (2015)
44.	Chi-bloody-nese	/tʃaɪ'ni:z/	2	bloody	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
45.	guilt-freakin-tee	/ˈgɪl.ti/	2	freakin	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
46.	urfuckingbane	/ɜ:'beɪn/	2	fucking	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	Bauer (1983)
47.	fan-flamingtastic	/fæn'tæstɪk/	3	flaming	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	Internet (www.telegraph.co.uk)
48.	bea-damn-utiful	bju:.tɪ.fəl/	3	damn	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
49.	hufuckingmongous	/hju:'mʌŋɡəs/	3	fucking	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	COCA
50.	wonder-fucking-ful	/ˈwʌn.də.fəl/	3	fucking	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
51.	Fan-fuckin-tastic	/fæn'tæs.tɪk/	3	fucking	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
52.	ri-goddamn-diculous	/rɪ'dɪk.jə.ləs/	4	goddamn	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
53.	amalgam-bloody-mated	/ə'mæl.gə.meɪt/	5	bloody	ADJECTIVE	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)

54.	per-bloody-haps	pə'hæps/	2	bloody	ADVERB	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
55.	in-bloody-deed	/ɪn'di:d/	2	bloody	ADVERB	COMPOUNDING	BNC
56.	o-damn-clock	/ə'klɒk/	2	damn	ADVERB	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
57.	some-fucking-place	/'sʌm.pleɪs/ ,	2	fucking	ADVERB	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
58.	for-fucking-ever	/fə're.vər/	2	fucking	ADVERB	COMPOUNDING	Nevalainen (2015)
59.	to-bloodymora	/tə'mɒr.əʊ/	3	bloody	ADVERB	COMPOUNDING	BNC
60.	to-fucking-gether	/tə'geð.ər	3	fucking	ADVERB	COMPOUNDING	Nevalainen (2015)
61.	licketyfuckingsplit	/lɪk.ə.ti'splɪt/	4	fucking	ADVERB	COMPOUNDING	Bauer (1983)
62.	out bloody side	/aʊt'saɪd/	2	bloody	ADVERB	PREFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
63.	in-fuckin'-side	/ɪn'saɪd/	2	fuckin'	ADVERB	PREFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
64.	out-fuckin'-side	/aʊt'saɪd/	2	fuckin'	ADVERB	PREFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
65.	Re-fucking-gardless	rɪ'gɑːdləs	3	fucking	ADVERB	MULT. AFFIX.	IMSDB
66.	e-bloody-nough	/ɪ'nʌf/	2	bloody	ADVERB	SIMPLE	McMillan (1980)
67.	absoballylutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	bally	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
68.	abso-bleedinglutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	bleeding	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
69.	Abso-blessed-lutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	blessed	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
70.	absobloomin'lutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	bloomin'	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
71.	abso-freaking-lutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	freaking	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
72.	abso-goddamn-lutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	goddamn	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
73.	Absomotherfuckin'lutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	motherfuckin'	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
74.	abso-one-hundred-per-cent-lutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	one-hundert-per-cent	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
75.	abso-posi-lutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	posi	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
76.	abso-Pygmalion-lutely	/æb.sə'lu:t.li/	4	pygmalion	ADVERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
77.	a-bloody-men	/ɑː'men/	2	bloody	INTERJECTION	BORROWING	BNC
78.	a-damn-men	/ɑː'men/	2	damn	INTERJECTION	BORROWING	McMillan (1980)
79.	a-fuckin'-men	/ɑː'men/	2	fuckin'	INTERJECTION	BORROWING	Nevalainen (2015)
80.	halle-bloody-lujah	/hæl.ɪ'luː.jə/	4	bloody	INTERJECTION	BORROWING	McMillan (1980)
81.	Abrafuckincadabra.	/æb.rə.kə'dæb.rə/	5	fuckin'	INTERJECTION	BORROWING	Nevalainen (2015)

82.	bull-fucking-shit	/ˈbʊl.ʃɪt/	2	fucking	INTERJECTION	COMPOUNDING	Nevalainen (2015)
83.	hoo-bloody-rah	/həˈrei/	2	bloody	INTERJECTION	EXCLAMATION	McMillan (1980)
84.	ah-absolutely-hah	two words	2	Absolute ly	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	McMillan (1980)
85.	ho bloody ho	/həʊˈhəʊ/	2	bloody	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	McMillan (1980)
86.	boom-bloody-boom	hyphenated word	2	bloody	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	McMillan (1980)
87.	ha-bloody-ha	/həˈhɑː/	2	bloody	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	BNC
88.	bow-for God' sake-wow	/ˈbəʊ.wəʊ/	2	for God's sake-	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	McMillan (1980)
89.	boo-fuckin'-hoo	buːˈhuː	2	fuckin'	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	Nevalainen (2015)
90.	chop-fuckin'-chop	hyphenated word	2	fuckin'	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	Nevalainen (2015)
91.	tally bloody ho	/ˌtæl.iˈhəʊ/	3	bloody	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	McMillan (1980)
92.	whoopy-fuckin-doo	hyphenated word	3	fuckin	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	BNC
93.	Hardy-fuckin-har	hyphenated word	3	fuckin	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	Nevalainen (2015)
94.	fiddle-fucking-faddle	/ˈfɪd(ə)lˈfəd(ə)l/	4	fucking	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	Internet (Instagram.com)
95.	okey-fucking-dokey	/ˌəʊkɪˈdəʊki/	4	fucking	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	Google search
96.	fiddle-de-fucking-dee	hyphenated word	4	fucking	INTERJECTION	ICON. FORM.	Nevalainen (2015)
97.	Confuckinggratulations	/kənˌɡrætʃəˈleɪʃən/	5	fucking	INTERJECTION	MULT. AFFIX.	Internet (Google.com)
98.	Congratu- motherfucking-lations	/kənˌɡrætʃəˈleɪʃən/	5	motherfu cking	INTERJECTION	MULT. AFFIX.	Internet (youtube.com)
99.	O-for-God's-sake-K	/ˌəʊˈkeɪ/	2	for- God's- sake	INTERJECTION	SHORTENING	McMillan (1980)
100.	Toodle-fucking-oo	/tuːd(ə)lˈuː/	3	fucking	INTERJECTION	Unknown origin	Google Search
101.	eighty-fucking-two	separate words	3	fucking	numeral word	NUMERAL	COCA
102.	three-goddamn-thirty	hyphenated words	3	goddamn	numeral word	NUMERAL	COCA
103.	nineteen-fucking-eighty	hyphenated words	4	fucking	numeral word	NUMERAL	COCA
104.	19-fucking-70	pronounced as separate words	4	fucking	numeral word	NUMERAL	Nevalainen (2015)
105.	19-fuckin'-43.	pronounces as separate words	5	fucking	numeral word	NUMERAL	McMillan (1980)

106.	C bloody one	spelled	2	bloody	INITIALISM	SHORTENING	McMillan (1980)
107.	B-Bloody-C	spelled	2	bloody	INITIALISM	SHORTENING	Nevalainen (2015)
108.	C-fucking-4	Si: fɔ:r	2	fucking	INITIALISM	SHORTENING	Nevalainen (2015)
109.	A-FUCKING-SAP	/ˈeɪ.sæp/	2	fucking	ACRONYM	SHORTENING	Interet (urbandictionary.com)
110.	F-fuckin-BI	spelled	3	fuckin	INITIALISM	SHORTENING	COCA
111.	I-A-fucking-D	spelled	3	fucking	INITIALISM	SHORTENING	Nevalainen (2015)
112.	R.I fucking. P.	spelled	3	fucking	INITIALISM	SHORTENING	Nevalainen (2015)
113.	P.O.fuckingW.	spelled	3	fucking	INITIALISM	SHORTENING	Nevalainen (2015)
114.	D-K-fucking-N-Y	spelled	4	fucking	INITIALISM	SHORTENING	Nevalainen (2015)
115.	um-bloody-brella	/ʌmˈbrel.ə/	3	bloody	NOUN	BORROWING	McMillan (1980)
116.	kangabloodyroo	/ˌkæŋ.gəˈru:/	3	bloody	NOUN	BORROWING	McMillan (1980)
117.	derri-fucking-aire	/dɛrɪˈɛ:/	3	fucking	NOUN	BORROWING	COCA
118.	Propafuckingganda	/ˌprɒp.əˈgænd.də/	4	fucking	NOUN	BORROWING	McMillan (1980)
119.	hypo-bloody-crite	/ˈhɪp.ə.krɪt/	3	bloody	NOUN	COMB. FORM	McMillan (1980)
120.	self-de-fucking-fence	/ˌself.dɪˈfens/	3	fucking	NOUN	COMB. FORM	McMillan (1980)
121.	atmofuckingsphere	ˈæt.mə.sfiər/	3	fucking	NOUN	COMB. FORM	Bauer (1983)
122.	kinder-goddamn-garten	/ˈkɪn.dəˌɡɑː.tən/	4	goddamn	NOUN	COMB. FORM	McMillan (1980)
123.	megalo-bloodymaniac	/ˌmeg.əl.əˈmeɪ.ni.æk /	6	bloody	NOUN	COMB. FORM	McMillan (1980)
124.	rail-bloody-way	/ˈreɪl.weɪ/	2	bloody	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
125.	dimfuckingwit	/ˈdɪm.wɪt/	2	fucking	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	Bauer (1983)
126.	ASS-FUCKING-HOLE	/ˈæs.həʊl/	2	fucking	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	Nevalainen (2015)
127.	handibloodycap	/hæn.dɪ.kæp/	3	bloody	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	Bauer (1983)
128.	Disney-fucking-land	/ˈdɪzniˌlənd/	3	fucking	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	COCA
129.	rock-n-goddamn-rol	/ˌrɒk (ə)n(d) ˈrəʊl/	3	goddamn	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	COCA
130.	circumbloodycision	/səˈkəmˈsɪʒən/	4	bloody	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	COCA
131.	jitter-fucking-bugging	hyphenated	4	fucking	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
132.	Psycho-fucking-analyst	/ˌsaɪˈkəʊˈænˌəlˌɪst/	5	fucking	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	Nevalainen (2015)
133.	crypto-motherfucking-currency	/ˈkrɪp.təʊˌkʌr.ən.si/	5	motherfucking	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	Internet (podcasts.joerogan.net)

134.	hort-er-fucking-culturalist	/ˌhɔː.tɪˈkʌl.tʃər.əl.ɪst/	6	fucking	NOUN	COMPOUNDING	Nevalainen (2015)
135.	Contra-fucking-band	/ˈkɒn.trə.bænd/	3	fucking	NOUN	PREFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
136.	prebloodydicament	/priˈdikəm(ə)nt/	4	bloody	NOUN	MULT. AFFIX.	COCA
137.	de-fucking-generate	/diˈdʒen.ə.reɪt/	4	fucking	NOUN	MULT. AFFIX.	McMillan (1980)
138.	in-fucking-fixation	/ɪnˈfɪkseɪʃən/	4	fucking	NOUN	MULT. AFFIX.	McMillan (1980)
139.	confronfuckingtation	/ˌkɒn.frʌnˈteɪ.ʃən/	4	fucking	NOUN	MULT. AFFIX.	Bauer (1983)
140.	su-fucking-perlative	/suːˈpɜːlə.tɪv/	4	fucking	NOUN	MULT. AFFIX.	The Stuntman (1980)
141.	Post-fucking-impressionists	/ˌpəʊstɪmˈpreʃnɪst/	5	fucking	PROPER NAME	MULT. AFFIX.	BNC
142.	Thursfuckingday	/ˈθɜːz.deɪ/	2	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Google search
143.	Fri fucking day	/ˈfraɪ.deɪ/	2	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Google search
144.	Tuesfuckingday	/ˈtʃuːz.deɪ/	2	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Google search
145.	Sun"fucking"day	/ˈsʌn.deɪ/	2	“fucking”	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Internet (instagram.com)
146.	Wednesfuckingday	/ˈwenz.deɪ/	2	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Internet (Reddit.com)
147.	Mon-fucking-day	/ˈmʌn.deɪ/	2	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Google search
148.	Bho-bloody-wani	second syllable	2	bloody	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	McMillan (1980)
149.	So-bloody-ho	/səʊˈhəʊ/	2	bloody	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	McMillan (1980)
150.	Ma-fuckin-guire	second syllable	2	fuckin	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
151.	Viet-fucking-nam	/ˌvjetˈnæm/	2	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
152.	Rux-fucking-pin	hyphenated word	2	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
153.	Saturfuckingday	/ˈsæt.ə.deɪ/	3	fuckin	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Google search
154.	Mala-bloody-ga	/ˈmæləgə/	3	bloody	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	BNC
155.	Aber-bloody-deen	/æb.əˈdiːn/	3	bloody	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
156.	Lauder-damndale	/ˈləːdərdel/	3	damn	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	McMillan (1980)
157.	Su-fuckin'-matra	/s(j)uːˈmɑːtrə/	3	fuckin'	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	McMillan (1980)
158.	Liverfuckingpool	/ˈlɪvəpuːl/	3	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Google search
159.	Birminfuckingham	/ˈbɜːmɪŋəm/	3	fuckin	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Google search
160.	Aberfuckingdeen	/ˌabəˈdiːn/	3	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Internet (Twitter.com)

161.	Birmingfuckingham	/ˈbəːmɪŋəm/	3	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Internet (Facebook.com)
162.	Man-fucking-chester	/ˈmantʃɛstə/	3	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Internet (Reddit.com)
163.	Butt-Fucking-Ham Palace	wordplay	3	Fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
164.	Kat-Man-fucking-Du	/ˌkætmaɪnˈduː/	3	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
165.	FER-FUCKING-NANDO	Second syllable	3	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
166.	Gali-fucking-leo	/galiˈleːo/	3	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	IMSDB
167.	Tumba-bloody-rumba	/tʌmbəˈrʌmbə/	4	bloody	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	McMillan (1980)
168.	Picca-damn-dilly	second syllable	4	damn	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	McMillan (1980)
169.	Ala-damn-bama	/ˌæl.əˈbæm.ə/	4	damn	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
170.	Cinder-fuckin'-rella	/ˌsɪn.dərˈel.ə/	4	fuckin'	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
171.	Fitti-fucking-paldi	/ˈfɪtʃɪˈpawdʒɪ/	4	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
172.	Beni-fucking-hana	second syllable	4	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
173.	Nostra-fucking-damus	second syllable	4	fucking	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	Nevalainen (2015)
174.	Lithu-bloody-anians	/ˌlɪθ.juˈeɪ.ni.ən/	5	bloody	PROPER NAME	PROPER NAME	McMillan (1980)
175.	muskefuckingteers	/ˌmʌskɪˈtɪə/	3	fucking	NOUN	SUFFIXATION	COCA
176.	tribu-bloody-lation	/ˌtrɪb.jəˈleɪ.ʃən/	4	bloody	NOUN	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
177.	fluctu-fucking-ation	/ˌflʌk.tʃuˈeɪ.ʃən/	4	fucking	NOUN	SUFFIXATION	BNC
178.	mon fucking-strosity	/mɒnˈstrɒs.ə.ti/	4	fucking	NOUN	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
179.	lia-fuckin-bility	/ˌlaɪ.əˈbɪl.ə.ti/	4	fuckin	NOUN	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
180.	obligoddamngation	/ˌɒb.lɪˈgeɪ.ʃən/	4	goddamn	NOUN	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
181.	emancimotherfuckingpa tor	/iˌmæn.sɪˈpeɪ.tər	5	motherfu cking	NOUN	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
182.	any-bloody-thing	/ˈen.i.θɪŋ/	2	bloody	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
183.	me-bloody-self	/maɪˈself/	2	bloody	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
184.	my-bloody-self	/maɪˈself/	2	bloody	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
185.	them-fucking-selves	/ð(ə)mˈselvz/	2	fucking	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	Google search
186.	anyfuckinwhere	/ˈen.i.weər/	2	fuckin	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	Nevalainen (2015)
187.	any-fucking-thing	/ˈen.i.θɪŋ/	2	fucking	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	Nevalainen (2015)
188.	him-fucking-self	/hɪmˈself/	2	fucking	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	Google search

189.	ourfuckingselves	/aʊə'selvz/,	2	fucking	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	Internet (Twitter.com)
190.	no-goddamn-where	/'nəʊwe:/	2	goddamn	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	COCA
191.	whatso-bloody-ever	/,wɒt.səʊ'ev.ər/	3	bloody	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
192.	everydamnwhere	/'ev.ri.weər/	3	damn	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	BNC
193.	some-goddamn-body	/'sʌm.bɒdi/	3	goddamn	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	COCA
194.	every-bloody-body	/'ev.ri.bɒd.i/	4	bloody	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	McMillan (1980)
195.	everygoddamnboddy	/'evrɪbɒdi/	4	goddamn	PRONOUN	COMPOUNDING	COCA
196.	be-awfully-ware	bɪ'weər/	2	awfully	VERB	PREFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
197.	dis-damn-membered	/dɪs'mem.bər/	4	damn	VERB	PREFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
198.	e-fuckin'-vaporate	/ɪ'væp.ər.ert/	4	fuckin'	VERB	MULT. AFFIX.	McMillan (1980)
199.	ad-bloody-vance	/əd'vɑ:ns/	2	bloody	VERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
200.	guaran-absolutely-tee	/,gær.ən'ti:/	3	absolutel y	VERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
201.	spifli-bloody-cate	/'spɪflɪkət/	3	bloody	VERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
202.	guaran-damn-tee	/,gær.ən'ti:/	3	damn	VERB	SUFFIXATION	McMillan (1980)
203.	guaranfriggingtee	/,gær.ən'ti:/	3	friggin	VERB	SUFFIXATION	Bauer 1983)
204.	guaran-fuckin-teed	/,gær.ən'ti:/	3	fuckin	VERB	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)
205.	guaran-goddamn-tee	/,gær.ən'ti:/	3	goddamn	VERB	SUFFIXATION	Nevalainen (2015)